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ANNALS

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THE ISTHMIAN CANAL IN ITS ECONOMIC ASPECTS.

The Isthmian Canal Commission undertook the prosecution of three lines of investigation: (1) The engineering problems and cost of construction; (2) the nature of the political rights and corporate concessions, of which the United States must secure possession in order to construct and control an isthmian canal, and the cost of acquiring those rights; and (3) the industrial, commercial and military value of an interoceanic canal. In the report recently submitted by the Commission to the President and by him to Congress the results of each of these three inquiries are presented with full detail.

The engineering investigation made by the Commission comprises a careful study of the Nicaragua and Panama routes and an examination of the entire Isthmus of Darien east of Panama. For each of the Nicaragua and Panama routes the Commission secured all the information requisite to the preparation of detailed estimates of the costs of constructing a canal thirty-five feet in depth and with a bottom width of 150 feet. The surveys on the Isthmus of Darien showed that the Atrato routes were inpracticable and that the only lines worthy of consideration—those along the San Blas and Caledonia locations—required the use of tunnels. The neces-

sity for tunnels on the Darien routes eliminated those lines from study and restricted the later engineering work of the Commission to investigations of the Nicaragua and Panama routes.

The scope of the Commission's investigation of the rights, privileges and franchises held on the American isthmus by corporations and the nature of the political privileges which the United States must necessarily secure in order to construct and control an isthmian canal are presented by Hon. Samuel Pasco in a paper published in another part of this issue of the ANNALS.

The canal from a military point of view has been discussed by Colonel Peter C. Hains, one of the military members of the Commission, in the May, 1901, issue of the ANNALS. The conclusions reached by the Commission, and published in its final report, are similar to the views set forth by Colonel Hains in his ANNALS paper.

The detailed investigation of the canal from the point of view of its industrial and commercial value to the United States and other countries is presented in one of the volumes of the Commission's report, Appendix NN. The main conclusions reached as the result of this investigation are summarized briefly in the part of the Commission's report to which the signatures of the members are attached.

After calculating carefully the advantages and disadvantages of the Nicaragua and Panama routes from an engineering point of view, and after considering the nature of, and cost of acquiring, the concessions and political rights which the United States would have to obtain in building a canal by each of the routes, and after weighing the relative commercial advantages of the two routes, the Commission reported in favor of the adoption of the Nicaragua route. As stated in the last paragraph of its final report, the conclusion of the Commission was:

"After considering all the facts developed by the investigations made by the Commission and the actual situation as it now stands,

and having in view the terms offered by the New Panama Canal Company, this commission is of the opinion that 'the most practicable and feasible route for an isthmian canal, to be under the control, management and ownership of the United States,' is that known as the Nicaragua Route."

The purpose of the present discussion is to deal in a summary and generalized manner with the relation of the canal to the industries and commerce of the United States, and to state the main facts ascertained by the investigations made to ascertain the available and prospective traffic of the proposed waterway and to determine the effects which tolls would have upon the use of the canal by the commerce of Europe and the United States with various sections of the Pacific. The study of tolls was made for the purpose not only of determining their effect upon the volume of traffic using the canal but also with the object of considering the canal in its financial aspects.

The Isthmian Canal and American Industries.

The construction of a canal across the American isthmus is proposed mainly for two reasons—that it will strengthen the efficiency of the American navy, and that it will facilitate commercial intercourse both between the eastern and western seaboards of the United States and between each of those sections and those foreign countries adjacent to the Atlantic or Pacific with which, under present conditions, commerce is seriously restricted because of the great length of existing water routes. The canal will affect American industries by facilitating our foreign and domestic trade.

When we consider that our total foreign trade is second only to that of the United Kingdom and that our exports already outvalue those of that great commercial nation, that our exports of manufactures have doubled in five years and will soon amount to half a billion dollars annually, we can appreciate the growing magnitude of our foreign trade; and when we further consider that the industries which

create this great surplus for foreign trade represent the activities of but 76,000,000 people, and that our population will reach 100,000,000 by the time an Isthmian canal can be opened for commerce, the reason becomes manifest why the American people have a wide-spread and well-nigh unanimous interest in the early execution of that great work.

The costs of manufacturing iron and steel products and many other commodities are already lower in many parts of the United States than they are in Europe, and further economies in production are certain to be introduced during the coming ten or fifteen years. Having this present and prospective superiority over our greatest competitors, in the expenses of production, the future growth of our foreign trade becomes primarily and essentially a question of securing cheaper transportation. When the American manufacturer has the advantage over his competitor, both in the costs of production and in the expenses of transportation, he will surely control such foreign markets as he may require for the disposition of his products.

The two seaboards of the United States average over 13,000 nautical miles apart by the shortest ocean route—the one followed by steamers through the Straits of Magellan. Steamers take sixty days to make the voyage between New York or Philadelphia and the Pacific coast of our country, and sailing vessels require fully twice that time. The isthmian canal will shorten the ocean distances between our Eastern and Western States between 8,000 and 9,000 nautical miles, to less than 40 per cent of the length of the present routes, and will bring the countries of the eastern half of the Pacific Ocean nearer to the eastern part of the United States than to Europe.

The following detailed table shows the distances for full-powered steamers between the principal Atlantic and Pacific ports for each of the Panama and Nicaragua routes. The distances are those by arcs of great circles and by the actual

Distance from American and European Atlantic Ports to Pacific Ports, via the Nicaragua and Panama Canals.

From Via	To Port Townsend via San Francisco.	To San Francisco.	To Guayaquil.	To Callao,	To Iquique.	To Valparaiso.	To Coronel.	[1] To Yokohama via San Francisco.	[1] To Shanghai via San Francisco and Yokohama.	[1] To Manila via San Francisco and Yokohama.	[2] To Sydney via Tahiti.	[2] To Melbourne via Tahiti [3] and Sydney.	[4] To Wellington via Tahiti.
New York—Nicaragua	5,696	4,921	3,246	3,751	4,393	4,928	5,161	9,457	10,507	11,207	9,676	10,251	8,716
Panama	6,074	5,299	2,864	3,359	4,021	4,630	4,838	9,835	10,885	11 585	9,852	10,427	8,892
Norfolk—Nicaragua	5,485	4,710	3,035	3,540	4,182	4,767	4,950	9,247	10,297	10,997	9,466	10,041	8,505
Panama	5,872	5,097	2,662	3,157	3,819	4,428	4,636	9,634	10,684	11,384	9,650	9,858	8,690
Charleston—Nicaragua	5,276	4,501	2,826	3,331	3,973	4,558	4,741	9,037	9,957	10,505	9,250	9,831	8,256
Panama	5,673	4,898	2,463	2,958	3,638	4,229	4,437	9,344	10,367	10,809	9,451	10,006	8,491
Fort Tampa—Nicaragua	4,753	3,978	2,303	2,808	3,450	4,035	4,218	8,514	9,564	10,264	8,733	9,308	7,773
Panama	5,328	4,553	2,098	2,593	3,255	3,864	4,072	9,069	10,119	10,819	9,086	9,661	8,126
New Orleans—Nicaragua	4,893	4,118	2,443	2,948	3,590	4,175	4,358	8,654	9,704	10,404	8,873	9.448	7,913
Panama	5,477	4,698	2,263	2,758	3,420	4,029	4,237	9,234	10,284	10,984	9,251	9,826	8,291
Galveston—Nicaragua	4,996	4,221	2,546	3,051	3,693	4,278	4,461	8,757	9,887	10,587	9,056	9,551	8,016
Panama	5,574	4,799	2,364	2,858	3,520	4,129	4,338	9,335	10,385	11,085	9,352	9.927	8,392
Liverpool—Nicaragua	8,426	7,651	5.975	6,481	7,123	7,708	7,891	12,187	13,237	13,937	12,406	12,891	11,446
Panama	8,813	8,038	5,603	6,098	6,760	7,369	7,577	12,574	13,624	14,324	12,59:	13,166	11,631
Hamburg—Nicaragua	8,943	8,168	6,493	6,998	7,640	8,225	8,408	12,704	13,754	14 454	12,923	13,498	11,963
Panama	9,242	8,467	6,032	6,527	7,189	7,798	8,006	13,003	14,053	14,753	13,020	13,595	12,060
Antwerp—Nicaragua	8,664	7,889	6,214	6,719	7,361	7,946	8,129	12,425	13,475	14,175	12,644	13,219	11,684
Panama	8,963	8,188	5,753	6,248	6,910	7,519	7,727	12,724	13,774	14,474	12,74:	13,316	11,781
Bordeaux—Nicaragua	8,414	7,639	5,964	6,469	7,111	7,696	7,879	12,175	13,225	13,925	12,394	12,969	11,434
Panama	8,713	7,938	5,503	5,998	6,660	7,269	7,477	12,474	13,524	14,224	12,491	13,066	11,471
Gibraltar—Nicaragua	8,148	7,373	5,698	6,203	6,845	7,430	7,613	11,909	12,959	13,659	12,128	12,703	12,800
Panama	8,447	7,672	5,237	5,723	6,394	7,003	7,211	12,208	13,258	13,958	12,225	11,168	11,265

[1] Via Honolulu adds 374 miles for Nicaragua and 252 for Panama.
[2] Omiting Tahiti reduces voyage from Brito by 52 miles.
[3] Voyage from Brito to Sydney by Wellington is 232 miles less than by way of Tahiti, from Panama it is 405 miles less.
[4] Voyage from Brito to Wellington direct is 185 miles shorter than via Tahiti, and from Panama it is 358 miles shorter.

routes which vessels will naturally take. It was believed that the length of commercial routes really taken by ships would be more instructive than the length of the shortest possible sailing lines between Atlantic and Pacific termini, The calculations were made for the Commission by the United States Hydrographic Office and have been twice carefully checked.

Europe is now nearer by water routes to all parts of the Pacific, than are the people of the United States, whose commercial connections are with Atlantic and Gulf ports. Even the east coast of South America, south of the Equator, is nearer to Western Europe than to the manufacturing sections of the United States. The Suez Canal has brought Europe nearer than the United States is to the East Indies, China, Japan and Oriental countries generally, and until an American canal route is opened, the manufacturers and most of the exporters of this country will find their lower costs of production largely, if not quite, offset by the greater expenses of transporting their commodities to many of their most promising markets.

A large trade with Western South America, Oceania and Asia has come to be not only advantageous but almost essential to the industries of the United States. The nitrate of soda from Chile, the cacao and the forest products from tropical America, the sugar from Hawaii, the hemp from Manila, the wool, hides and gums from Australia and New Zealand, the raw silk from Japan and China are examples of the raw materials of which large and rapidly growing quantities are required by American manufacturers. Furthermore, the countries supplying these raw materials now furnish a valuable market for machinery and manufactures, and with the development of their natural resources, and the modernization of their industrial processes and social life, their purchases will largely and continuously increase.

Although, until an isthmian canal has become available, the United States must compete for most of the Pacific trade

under great disadvantages, our present commerce with the Pacific makes no mean showing either as to volume or rate of growth. During the decade, 1890 to 1900, the value of exports to Japan, China and Asiatic Russia increased from less than twenty million to nearly seventy million dollars, and our exports to Australia, Hawaii and the Philippines from sixteen million to forty-three million dollars; the total exports to those countries having risen from $36,157,089 to $108,304,911, a gain of 200 per cent in ten years.

Our trade with the west coast of South America is not large, but ought to be and will become so as soon as the people of that section are able to secure our cotton goods, mining and agricultural machinery, and general manufactures directly and cheaply. Nearly one-third of the tonnage that would make use of an isthmian canal, if it were opened to-morrow, would be contributed by the trade of the western part of South America. This large commerce is now nearly all in the hands of Great Britain and Germany, but such will not long continue to be the case when ocean vessels can pass the American isthmus. Western South America is one of the few sections of the world that will always send us more tons of cargo than we shall ship to it. We require its raw materials in large quantities; it needs our manufactures. The trade will be reciprocal and highly valuable for both parties to the exchange.

Statistics of commerce are often less instructive than the experiences of men engaged in foreign trade. A New York firm, whose manufacturing plants are in New Jersey, stated in a letter to the Canal Commission: "Our business in the Sandwich Islands has been very large in the past few years,—at the rate of over one-half million dollars per year. This could undoubtedly be increased, and at the same time the sugar, and other industries, there, fostered, if we were not handicapped by the long railroad haul across the country." Thus one American firm, of whom comparatively few Americans have ever heard, is now shipping annually to little Hawaii over half a million dollars worth of goods.

The Commission received a letter from a Maryland firm stating that the firm at the time of the writing of the letter was filling a foreign order for 70,000 tons of rails for the Trans-Siberian Railway, and also an order for 30,000 tons of rails to be sent to the government of Victoria, Australia.

One Philadelphia firm shipped two full vessel cargoes of locomotives to China and Siberia in 1898. In 1899 another full cargo of engines was shipped to the same countries, and in 1900 a fourth full cargo was sent—156 locomotives sent by one Philadelphia firm to China and Siberia in a little more than two calendar years! Facts like these show the relation of the Pacific trade to the future industrial progress of the United States.

A brief reference to the manner in which the canal will affect the industries and commerce of different parts of the United States,—the Pacific slope, the Southern States, the eastern section and the central west, will reveal some of the more important relations of the waterway to the economic interests of our country.

The typical products of the Pacific slope are wheat, barley, beet sugar and hops, lumber and shingles, fruit and vegetables of many kinds, cattle, hides, and wool, and the articles obtained from the extensive river and marine fisheries,—that is to say, the west coast produces foods and the materials of industry. Some wheat flour, lumber and canned foods are sold in Oceania and trans-Pacific countries, but the largest market for all the west coast products is in Europe and the manufacturing sections of the eastern half of the United States. With the exception of the great Cordilleran Plateau, or Rocky Mountain section of our country, the Pacific coast region is the most geographically isolated portion of the United States, and will remain so until it has secured cheap water transportation to its natural markets. In spite of the great economies that have been effected during the past twenty years in the costs of moving freight by rail, the volume of bulky freight that can be profitably hauled

over high mountains to markets 2,000 to 3,000 miles distant is small. The evidence obtained by the Canal Commission on this point is extensive, and was obtained directly from shippers and railway officials.

The west coast producers are already feeling the competition of Argentine and other rival sections and are extremely desirous of securing cheaper and speedier access to the North Atlantic. The people of the Pacific States, moreover, are buyers as well as sellers, and they and the eastern manufacturers from whom they buy find the existing freight costs a heavy burden and a serious business handicap.

In order to secure information regarding the effect which the proposed waterway would have upon the industries and commerce of the southern, central-western, and eastern sections of the United States, a committee of the Isthmian Canal Commission went to most of the important seaports from Portland, Maine, to Galveston, Texas. The larger centers of the iron and steel manufactures, and such industrial cities as Cincinnati, Detroit, Indianapolis, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Louis were also visited. Conferences were had in twenty-nine cities with the chambers of commerce or corresponding societies of business men. Special reports were prepared by the commercial organizations in these and other cities and an extensive correspondence was carried on with various classes of business men in all parts of the country. It is believed that the knowledge secured in this manner gave the committee something more than statistical or descriptive information concerning American industries. It certainly gave the committee a very strong impression of the tremendous producing capabilities of the people of this country, and of the large results that will follow the cheapening of transportation by opening a highway for commerce across the American isthmus.

Throughout American history the exports from the Southern states, the cotton, tobacco, lumber and naval stores, have constituted a large part of the tonnage of our foreign com-

merce; and latterly phosphate, coal, iron and steel, and general manufactures have made an important addition to the outbound trade of that section. Most of these commodities are bulky and require the use of a large tonnage of shipping for their transportation. The products of the South find their present foreign market mainly in Europe, but they are desired in greater or less degree by nearly all countries, those of the Pacific Ocean, as well as those of the Atlantic. Because of the geographical position of the South, its exports are largely excluded from the markets of the Pacific. The position of the South as regards Pacific trade is very similar to that of the west coast of the United States as regards its commerce with Atlantic countries.

The canal will benefit the cotton industries of the South by giving the American staple a larger and more profitable trade in the Japanese market, where there is a keen competition with East Indian cotton; and it will also greatly facilitate the exportation of cotton goods to Western South America, Asia and Oceania where Great Britain and Germany now do a large business. The Southern mills are making great progress in cotton manufacturing, over 5,000,000 spindles are now running in those mills, and it is predicted by the commercial organizations of Charleston that North and South Carolina, whose annual crop of raw cotton is about one and one-half million bales, "will within a period of five years spin more cotton than they grow." The cloth made in the South is admirably adapted to the Pacific trade, and the Southern mill owners are desirous of a short route to Pacific markets.

The iron industries of the South will send through the canal to South America, Hawaii, California and trans-Pacific countries large quantities of such articles as iron pipe, engines, mining and agricultural machinery and steel wire. One of the large iron and steel manufacturing firms of the United States, whose business, according to its reports, amounts to from $35,000,000 to $40,000,000 annually, says

that "It is looking forward to a large export business in the near future with the different colonies of the United States and with South America, Asia, Africa and Europe." This firm believes that the Birmingham, Alabama, district "is destined to become the principal manufacturing centre in the United States for the export trade in iron and steel." . . . "The opening of the isthmian canal would be of incalculable benefit to us in increasing our facilities for export business, and would warrant the development of our Southern property to the fullest extent. We are positive that the markets of the world can be reached and supplied with our finished product (especially from the Southern district)."

The manufacture of machinery, tools, implements and the great variety of articles made from iron and steel is carried on mainly in the states north of the Ohio and Potomac and the total effect of the canal upon the iron and steel industries will be even greater in the North than in the South. Everybody realizes that the opening up of the undeveloped countries of the Pacific Ocean will require vast amounts of iron and steel manufactures, and when a canal has been constructed the people of the United States will secure a very large share of that trade. What is now being accomplished in spite of the present high costs of transportation is but an earnest of the future.

Besides aiding the cotton and iron and steel industries of the Southern states, the canal will open up a large market for their coal, lumber, naval stores and phosphate rock. The coal will be required by the vessels using the canal, and in the coaling stations of the eastern part of the Pacific Ocean in tropical and south temperate latitudes, and also for industrial purposes along the west coast of Central and South America. This exported coal will be mined not only in Alabama, but also in the northern bituminous fields of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, which enjoy especially cheap transportation to New Orleans by the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The Southern states now send large quantities of lumber to the

eastern coast of South America, and as soon as a canal has been opened they will ship to the west side of that continent and to other Pacific sections. The hardwood and yellow pine lumber of the South will be required in the development of the resources of the South American and other Pacific countries, and the phosphate fertilizers of Florida, South Carolina and Tennessee will be exported to Japan and to countries where agriculture is carried on by the intensive culture that goes with irrigation.

The reference previously made to the Pacific business of a New York, a Philadelphia and a Maryland firm partially illustrates the manner in which the canal will affect the industries of the eastern part of the United States. This part of the United States is intersected in the proposed waterway chiefly because it wants to get its surplus manufactures to Pacific markets and exchange them for foods and raw materials. Since the opening of the Suez Canal, Europe has had such an advantage over our Eastern States in reaching Pacific markets that American manufacturers located in or having rail connections with our Atlantic seaports, find difficulty in competing with their trans-Atlantic rivals for the trade of Australia, Oceania, and the Orient. The Philadelphia Board of Trade and Maritime Exchange state in a joint report which they prepared for the Isthmian Canal Commission, that the canal will assist "our Philadelphia merchants to enter into more effective competition with the nations of Europe which are now enabled to underbid us in the far east, by reason of the more economical and expeditious transportation which their merchants enjoy by the Suez Canal Route." What is true of Philadelphia is true of the other manufacturing or commercial centers in the Eastern States.

Information, in considerable detail, regarding the present trade of the central west with Pacific markets was secured for the Commission by commercial organizations in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago and St. Louis. In

each of these cities the leading association of business men addressed to its members a letter of inquiry regarding the nature and the volume of the commodities imported and exported, the routes now employed, and the manner in which an isthmian canal would affect the routes of shipment and the development of trade. The replies received showed the existence of a large exportation of manufactures from the central part of the United States to Pacific countries. American manufacturing activities are rapidly spreading throughout the central states and the business men of that section are hardly less interested in securing ready connection with the Pacific than are the men whose plants are located nearer tide water.

A brief reference, taken from Appendix NN of the Commission's final report, to the information received from Chicago will illustrate the relation of the canal to the central west generally.

In the city of Chicago a great variety of manufacturing industries is carried on, and shipments are made to all the countries of the Pacific. Railway materials and mining and agricultural machinery, however, are especially important, mining machinery being sent to all parts of the world, wherever mining operations are carried on. The foreign trade of one Chicago firm engaged in the manufacture of mining machinery amounts to 15,000 tons annually. The agricultural machinery manufactured in and about Chicago is now shipped to the west coast of South America, to Eastern Siberia, and to various parts of Australasia. The Australasian trade of one firm in 1900 amounted to 11,000 tons. The shipments of this firm and presumably of others of that part of the country are made by way of New York, except on rare occasions, when, for the purpose of economizing time, the goods are routed by way of San Francisco or Vancouver. The rates from New York are usually much lower than those by way of the Pacific Coast. The time taken to get goods from Chicago to Australia varies from sixty-five to eighty-

five days, ten days of that time being required for getting the goods to New York City. The average time from Chicago to the Pacific Coast is eighteen days, and steamers from our Pacific Coast to Australasia take from twenty-two to twenty-eight days for the passage. The canal will shorten the distance by water from our Atlantic seaboard to Australasia by approximately 4,000 miles, and the distance to South America more than twice that number of miles.

The Canal and Shipbuilding.

The effect of the canal upon the business of building ships is worthy of special consideration. The canal is to be a highway for ocean commerce, and the results of the construction of the waterway will be felt first of all in the shipyards and merchant marine of this country. Information was received by the Canal Commission from forty American firms engaged in the building and operating of ships concerning the effect which the canal will have upon their business. The canal will unquestionably enlarge the coasting trade between the two seaboards of the United States and will cause a larger number of steamers to be built in American yards. Some of the vessels now employed in our coasting commerce will use the new waterway, but most of the ships for the trade between our two seaboards will consist of large freight steamers of modern design specially constructed for the trade. The evidence secured regarding the cost of building vessels seems to indicate that the enhanced demand for coasting vessels, together with the declining costs of material and the economies constantly being made in the labor expenses of construction, will during the next five or ten years enable Americans to build ships as cheaply as they can be launched on the Clyde.

The ownership and operation of ocean vessels by the large industrial firms as a part of their business, which has now in many cases come to include the entire process of obtaining

the raw materials, converting them into usable commodities and placing them in the hands of the consumer, whether foreign or domestic, will, to some extent, solve the question of our securing a larger merchant marine owned by Americans. Whether these vessels owned by American producers will be sailed under our flag, or under that of some foreign nation, will be determined by forces over which the isthmian canal will have but slight influence.[1]

Some of the vessels employed in the commerce between our eastern seaboard and trans-Pacific countries will doubtless desire to participate in the interoceanic coasting trade of the United States, and in order to do so they will need to have the American registry. The action of Congress in restricting the commerce of Porto Rico and Hawaii with the United States to American ships suggests that our trade with the Philippines may also be limited to the vessels flying our flag. Should Congress take such action regarding the Philippines, a considerable share of the commerce of our Atlantic and Gulf ports with Japan and China will be carried in American vessels, because such ships would be able to participate in both our Philippine and foreign trade.

Any benefit conferred upon our shipbuilding industry will indirectly aid in the enlargement of the tonnage of American vessels engaged in the foreign trade of the United States. If the American purchaser could secure vessels at home as cheaply as in foreign yards one of the present reasons for registering his ships under the flag of some other nation would be removed. The future growth of the merchant marine under the flag of the United States will depend on numerous factors, some economic and some political. The construction of the isthmian canal will apparently affect that growth favorably.

[1] This and the two following paragraphs are taken from Chapter VIII, Appendix NN, of the Commission's final report.

The Canal and Railway Traffic.

The effect of the canal on the traffic of American railways is a question concerning which much has been said in all discussions of the isthmian waterway, and an endeavor was made by the writer to secure from shippers in different parts of the country and from the traffic officials of the railways as much information as possible on this important subject. As to the business of the railway systems in the territory between Chicago and New York and of those in the Southern states, the evidence is practically unanimous that the canal will be beneficial. As regards the effect of the new water route upon the railroads west of the Mississippi River the testimony is divided. That the canal will be a rate-controlling factor of wide-reaching importance is generally admitted, and naturally enough is feared by those railway officials who do not think the waterway will bring much new and compensating business to the railroads. Here is the crux of this question, will the canal make business for the trans-continental railroads? Some of the trans-continental officials say yes and some say no; but the experience of history has always been that the improvements in facilities for water transportation have resulted in the diversification and distribution of industry and added to the volume of business done. Some of the railway officials with whom I have conferred believe that this experience will be repeated by the opening of the isthmian waterway. A well-known president of one of the western roads expressed this thought clearly and concisely in his reply to the Commission's inquiry: "In a general way, my idea has been, and is, that the construction of the canal would be beneficial to the Mississippi valley, as well as to the Pacific coast. I incline to think cheaper transportation for heavy freights between the Mississippi valley and the coast would so increase general business that the railroads would get back, out of high-class freights and passengers,

more than they would lose by the loss of low-class traffic where time is not important."

Having outlined the relation of the canal to our industries and our shipping and transportation interests, there remain the questions of traffic and tolls to be considered.[1]

Tonnage of Available Canal Traffic, 1899.

A detailed study of the foreign commerce of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1899, and of the commerce of Europe with the western part of the American continents during the calendar year 1899, has been made to ascertain the tons of cargo or *freight* and the net register tonnage of the *vessels* that might have passed through an isthmian canal had one been in existence. The cargo tonnage was found to amount to 6,703,608. This total does not include the comparatively small amount of freight that passed by water between our two seaboards, the statistics of which are not obtainable. It comprises 1,807,365 tons for the commerce between the eastern seaboard of the United States and Australasia, Oceania, Japan, China and Siberia; 1,629,387 tons for the trade between the west coast of the United States and Europe; and 3,266,856 for the commerce between Europe and western South and Central America, Western Mexico, Hawaii and British Columbia. It does not include any of Europe's trade with other parts of the Pacific.

The tonnage of the vessels that might have used an isthmian canal in 1899 was ascertained by an examination of the statistics of entrances and clearances kept by the United States and European countries. The vessel movements connected with the commerce of the eastern seaboard of the United States with Pacific America and with Australia, Oceania, the Philippines, Japan, China and Siberia, and

[1] The remainder of this paper is taken from the summary of the industrial and commercial value of the canal contained in the final report of the Isthmian Canal Commission.

the vessel movements between the western coasts of the American continents and the North Atlantic American and European ports were found to amount to 4,074,852 *vessel tons net* register, including 336,998 tons, for the commerce now crossing the Isthmus of Panama.

This total was compared with the result of a traffic investigation made by the New Panama Canal Company. The records of vessel movements kept by that company show a traffic for the calendar year 1899 of 3,848,577 tons net register for the commerce between Europe and the western coast of the American continent, between the Atlantic seaboard of America and trans-Pacific countries, and between the two American seaboards. The total obtained from the records kept by the Panama Company does not include any vessel tonnage for the commerce now crossing the isthmus. The addition of that tonnage, 336,998 tons, raises the total to 4,185,575.

In addition to this tonnage, which comprises only traffic originating or terminating in America, there should be included most of the commerce of Europe with New Zealand and the other islands of the Pacific east of Australia. New Zealand will be 1,503 miles nearer Liverpool by the Nicaragua Canal than via the Suez route, and 2,407 miles nearer than by the way of Good Hope. The distances to Liverpool from the most important groups of South Pacific islands north of New Zealand will be from 500 to 5,500 miles less via the isthmian canal than by way of Suez. The entrances and clearances of New Zealand's trade with Northwestern Europe—France and countries farther north—amounted to 481,178 tons net registered in 1899, and the commerce of that part of Europe with the other islands of the South Pacific east of Australia to 181,743 tons. Of this total traffic of 662,921 tons, not less than 500,000 might have advantageously used an isthmian canal, and this amount should be added to the tonnage of the canal traffic originating or terminating in America. This makes the

total obtained by the commission's investigation of the tonnage that might have used an isthmian canal in 1899, 4,574,852 tons net register; and the total obtained by adopting the New Panama Canal Company's figures for the traffic originating or terminating in America, 4,685,575 tons.

The above totals for the tonnage that might have used an isthmian canal in 1899 do not include any of Europe's trade with Australia and Japan, a part of which, for reasons stated above, would have used an isthmian waterway. The distances from Great Britain to Sidney and Yokohama by the Suez and isthmian canal routes are approximately equal, and vessels going by America in either direction en route between Europe and Japan or Australia will pass regions from which there is a heavy export tonnage. If it be assumed that only ten per cent of the vessel tonnage of the Australian trade with the ports of Northwestern Europe, and only five per cent of the tonnage of the Japanese commerce with those ports would have taken an American canal route, the totals for 1899 should be increased 316,223 tons, and be raised from 4,574,852 to 4,891,075 tons, and from 4,685,575 to 5,001,798 tons, or to approximately 5,000,000 tons.

Growth of Traffic—Probable Tonnage in 1914 and 1924.

Tables prepared by the New Panama Canal Company show that the vessel tonnage of the commerce between Europe and Pacific America, and between the Atlantic seaboard of America and the eastern and western sides of the Pacific, increased 25.1 per cent during the decade 1888–1898, and this rate has been adopted in estimating the traffic that will be available for the isthmian canal in 1914, by which year it is assumed that the waterway will have been completed and put in operation. This rate of increase would raise the available traffic of 1899, obtained by adding to the New Panama Canal Company's figures for tonnage originating and

terminating in America the present traffic across the Isthmus of Panama and 500,000 tons of the commerce of New Zealand and other south Pacific islands with Europe—4,685,575 tons—to 5,861,127 tons in 1909 and to 6,555,670 tons in 1914. A growth of 25.1 per cent per decade would increase the total of 4,574,852 tons for 1899, obtained by the Commission's investigation of the statistics of entrances and clearances, to 5,723,150 tons in 1909 and 6,401,343 tons in 1914—the tonnage being net register in each case.

In all probability the future increase in that part of the world's commerce that would use an isthmian canal will be more rapid than the past growth has been, because in the Pacific countries of America, in Australasia and in the Orient, the industrial progress of the next two decades promises to be much greater than that of the past twenty years has been. The rate of increase, 25.1 per cent per decade, prior to the opening of the canal probably undervalues what will occur. It is certainly a conservative estimate.

While it is not to be expected that the traffic of the isthmian waterway during the earlier years of its operation will increase so rapidly as did the tonnage passing the Suez Canal; the growth in the commerce using the Suez route constitutes the best basis for estimates regarding the rate of increase in the tonnage of the commerce that will use the American canal. The growth in the traffic of the Suez Canal is shown by the table on following page, in which the tonnage total for each five-year period is given.

The tonnage of the second five-year period was 205 per cent that of the first, and the total for the third period 217 per cent that of the second. The traffic in 1880 was 3,057,422 tons, that of 1890, 6,890,094, an increase of 125 per cent; and that of 1900, 9,738,152 tons, a growth of 2,848,058 tons, or 41 per cent during the past decade. The initial tonnage of the Suez Canal was small and the rate of increase during the first decade was large. Should 1914 be the first year of the operation of the American canal, and the rate of

Increase in the Number of Vessels and Tonnage of the Suez Canal by Quinquennial Periods.

Years.	Number of Vessels.	Net Tonnage.	Per Cent Increase.	Percentage which the tonnage of each five-year period is of the tonnage of 1875–1879.
1870–1874 . .	4,770	5,358,237	. .	. .
1875–1879 . . .	7,684	10,995,214	105	. .
1880–1884 . . .	14,542	23,916,374	117	217
1885–1889 . . .	16,726	31,430,454	31	286
1890–1894 . . .	17,848	39,899,143	27	363
1895–1899 . . .	16,939	44,042,274	10	401

increase in the traffic during the first ten years be 62½ per cent—half that of the Suez waterway during the second decade of its use—the estimated tonnage at the beginning, in round numbers 6,500,000 tons net register, would be raised to approximately 10,500,000 tons in 1924.

Tolls and Traffic.

The extent to which the isthmian canal is used will depend in part upon the tolls charged. The commerce of western South America with Europe will continue to pass the Straits of Magellan or to round Cape Horn; the trade of the American Atlantic seaboard with Australia will keep to the Good Hope route, and the traffic between our eastern seaboard and the Philippines and southern China will remain tributary to the Suez route, if the charges for passing the American canal are made greater than the saving to be effected by using that waterway. A toll of about one dollar per ton net register could profitably be paid by the commerce between Europe and western South America, and by that of our eastern seaboard with Australia; but in both instances a much higher charge would probably cause a large share of

the business to continue to be done by the routes now used. For the commerce of our eastern ports with the Philippines and the mainland of Asia between Singapore and Shanghai the distances by way of the Suez and isthmian canals will be so nearly equal that the route chosen will depend largely upon tolls. Light charges at the American canal will give that waterway a large share of the tonnage; high tolls will cause the Suez route to be used.

The Suez tolls at the present time are nine francs per ton net register, "Danube" measurement; and this charge amounts to somewhat more than $2 per ton net register, British or American measurement. The Suez tolls are levied by a private corporation, whose object is to secure the maximum revenue obtainable. With the exception of the trade between Europe and Australia, the commerce served by the Suez Canal can be charged a high toll without much restricting the tonnage using the waterway; consequently a large reduction in charges would not be compensated for by the increase in traffic and the revenue would be less. It is not probable that the Suez Canal Company would find it profitable to reduce its tolls largely for the purpose of competing with the American waterway.

In fixing the charges for the use of an isthmian canal, owned and operated by the United States Government, the principle of maximum revenue could not wisely be followed. The revenue-producing function of the canal will be a minor one as compared with its services in promoting the industrial and commercial progress and general welfare of the United States. The exaction of tolls that would much restrict the benefits derivable from the canal would not be to the advantage of the American people.

An annual traffic of 7,000,000 tons, at $1 per ton, will produce a revenue of $7,000,000. The expenses of operating and maintaining the Panama Canal are estimated at about $2,000,000 per annum, and those of the Nicaragua Canal at about $3,350,000. Upon this basis the net revenue by either

route would not be sufficient, at the opening of the canal, to pay interest upon the capital invested and compensate a private corporation for the risks involved. It is the opinion of the Commission, however, that there are other considerations more important than revenue. It may even be expedient for the United States to reduce the tolls to an amount which will barely cover the expenses of operation and maintenance. A large increase of traffic in the future is probable, and the revenue producing value of the canal would then be proportionately greater.

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THE ISTHMIAN CANAL QUESTION AS AFFECTED BY TREATIES AND CONCESSIONS.

The subject of opening a maritime canal through the American isthmus, between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, has been before the people of the United States for three-quarters of a century. It was not a new question; when the search for a connecting strait was reluctantly abandoned, during the early period of the Spanish occupation, an artificial waterway was proposed. Various plans and schemes were discussed from time to time, surveys and explorations were made at Tehuantepec, across Nicaragua, upon the Isthmus of Panama and in the Darien region, but the examinations were of a superficial character, and if any scientific data were collected they were not available when, at a later period, intelligent investigations were undertaken to discover the advantages of the different routes and to determine which was the most practicable and feasible for the great work of uniting the two oceans.

Three centuries passed without making any substantial progress, and when the Spanish provinces in Central and South America had achieved their independence they inherited the opportunity of opening a way through the continent for commerce and travel which the mother country had failed to improve, and it soon became apparent that they realized its importance.

In 1823 Guatemala, Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica united in forming the Federal Republic of Central America. Two years later the minister of the new republic at Washington was directed to invite the Government of the United States to co-operate in the construction of a canal of communication through Nicaragua, and stated that a company of respectable American merchants was ready to undertake the work as soon as a treaty could be arranged between the two countries. Diplomatic corre-

spondence followed, but before any action was taken in the form of a treaty the Republic of Central America, in June, 1826, entered into a contract with Aaron H. Palmer, of New York, and his associates, authorizing the construction of a ship canal from ocean to ocean, through the territory of Nicaragua, for vessels of the largest burden.

The company of construction was to operate the work after its completion long enough for the reimbursement of the capital invested and 10 per cent interest thereon, and for seven years after the reimbursement it was to receive one-half of the net proceeds of the enterprise. The entire property after this period was to belong to the state.

The Central American and United States Atlantic and Pacific Canal Company was at once projected, with a capital stock of five million dollars, for the purpose of fulfilling the contract, which was conveyed by deed of trust to De Witt Clinton, then governor of New York, and others to be held in trust until the proposed company was duly incorporated. Mr. Palmer went to London to seek the assistance of British capitalists in carrying out the undertaking, but was unsuccessful, and the contract was annulled for failure to begin the work within the time fixed by its terms.

Henry Clay was secretary of state when Don Antonio José Canaz, the minister of the republic of Central America, presented this subject, and in reply stated that the importance of uniting the two seas was fully realized, and that the President had determined to instruct the *chargé d'affaires* of the United States to carefully investigate the facilities which Nicaragua offered. President Adams manifested the interest which he felt in the proposed interoceanic communication when he appointed commissioners to represent the United States at the congress of Panama in the following year. In their letter of instructions he advised them that a cut or canal for the purposes of navigation, somewhere through the isthmus that connects the two Americas, would be a proper subject for the congress to consider when it should assemble.

After the failure of Mr. Palmer and his associates the Republic of Central America entered into negotiations with a company in the Netherlands, with the same purpose in view, and the basis of an agreement was adopted by the two houses of Congress in the latter part of 1830, but no results followed. The Republic then turned once more to the United States and offered to grant to the government the right to construct a canal by the proposed route through Nicaragua.

This offer was not accepted, but the Senate passed a resolution in March, 1835, requesting the President to consider the expediency of opening negotiations with other nations, particularly with the Republics of Central America and New Granada, for the purpose of protecting, by suitable treaty stipulations, such individuals or companies as might undertake to unite the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by the construction of a ship canal across the American isthmus.

President Jackson complied with this resolution by sending an agent to Nicaragua and Panama to examine these routes and procure accurate information as to the practicability of the different projects, also copies of laws and contracts relating to them and the details of such surveys and estimates of cost as could be obtained. No satisfactory results followed, and a message was sent to the Senate, in January, 1837, stating that it was not expedient, at that time, to enter into negotiations with foreign governments upon the subject.

Another resolution of like import was adopted by the House of Representatives of the twenty-fifth Congress, in March, 1839, and President Van Buren sent another agent to the isthmus. He recommended the Nicaragua route and estimated the cost of a canal there at twenty-five million dollars, but did not think the time was favorable for such an undertaking, because of the unsettled and revolutionary condition of the country.

The principal survey of the Nicaragua route during this period was made by John Baily, an English engineer. He

was employed by President Morazin, in 1837, to determine the best location for a canal and recommended a route from San Juan del Norte, now Greytown, up the San Juan River and through Lake Nicaragua to the Lajas and thence to San Juan del Sur on the Pacific.

The Panama route was within the territorial limits of the State of New Granada, which formed with Ecuador and Venezuela the Republic of Colombia from 1819 to 1831, when they separated into three independent republics.

In November, 1827, President Simon Bolivar commissioned Mr. J. A. Lloyd to survey the Isthmus of Panama, so as to ascertain the most eligible line of communication from sea to sea, whether by road or canal. He spent two seasons in exploring the country and recommended a line beginning at the Bay of Limon, thence to the Chagres River by a canal and up the river to a favorable location on the south bank of the Trinidad River and thence by road to Panama or Chorrera, the latter being nearer, but the former being preferable as a better port and the capital of the state, where its trade was already centered. He did not recommend a canal on this part of the route, but said that if a time should arrive when a project of a water communication might be entertained, the river Trinidad would probably offer the most favorable conditions.

In 1838 the Republic of Colombia granted to a French company a concession authorizing the construction of macadamized roads, railroads or canals across the isthmus with the Pacific terminus at Panama. Several years were spent in making explorations, and M. M. Salomon, the leading spirit in the enterprise, communicated the results to the French Government, in the hope of securing its aid. It was stated, among other things, that a depression in the mountain range offered a passage about thirty-seven feet above the average level of the Pacific. The government determined to verify the results thus presented, and in September, 1843, Napoleon Garella was employed to investigate the question of the junction of both seas by cutting

through the isthmus and to report the means of effecting it, the obstacles to be overcome and the cost of such an enterprise. He favored the recommendation of Lloyd, establishing the Atlantic terminus at the Bay of Limon, and a connection with the Chagres was to be made somewhat below the mouth of the Gatun. The low depression in the divide was nowhere found and his plan involved a tunnel five and a third miles long, but he also estimated for a cut through the ridge instead of the tunnel. The Pacific terminus was to be in the small bay of Vaca de Monte, about twelve miles southwest of Panama. The estimated cost of the work was twenty-five million dollars or twenty-eight millions, if the cut were used instead of the tunnel. The proposed cut was to have a maximum depth of about two hundred and seventy-five feet, and its bottom width would be nearly fifty feet more than that of the tunnel. This report disappointed the expectations raised by the projectors; no further steps were taken for the execution of the project and the contract was annulled.

Towards the middle of the century the westward movement of population led to some great events, which resulted in the permanent establishment of governmental operations upon the Pacific Coast. Among these were the contention with Great Britain over the Oregon boundary, which was settled by the Buchanan-Packenham treaty of 1846, the admission of Texas into the Union, followed by the war with Mexico, one of the results of which was the acquisition of California. Before the treaty was signed gold had been discovered there, and in a few months thousands were flocking to the mining regions from all parts of the world. Many from the Atlantic and Gulf States traveled thither across the continent, others sailed around Cape Horn, but by far the larger number crossed the isthmus by the old transits used by the Spaniards, at Panama and across Nicaragua, the terminals of which were soon connected with New York and San Francisco by lines of steamships.

The increasing and prospective importance of an inter-oceanic communication by way of the Isthmus of Panama had caused the Government at Washington to negotiate a treaty with New Granada, by which the former secured, among other things, the right of way or transit from sea to sea by any mode of communication then existing or that might thereafter be constructed, subject to no other tolls or charges than those levied or collected from citizens of New Granada under like circumstances. In return for these advantages and to secure their tranquil enjoyment, the United States guaranteed to New Granada the perfect neutrality of the isthmus, so that the transit might not be interrupted during the existence of the treaty. On more than one occasion this guaranty has been effective in maintaining peace and protecting life and property in this region. This treaty was signed in December, 1846, but the ratifications were not exchanged till June, 1848.

In May, 1847, New Granada entered into a contract with one Mateo Kline, a citizen of France, authorizing the Panama Company, an association organized in Paris, to construct and maintain a railroad across the isthmus for ninety-nine years. The road was to be completed within six years, to be counted from four months after the approval of the contract by the Congress of the Republic. The French company was unable to comply with the terms of the contract and it was forfeited. In December, 1848, it was revived, in a modified form, in favor of William Henry Aspinwall, John Lloyd Stephens, Henry Chauncey and their associates, who formed the Panama Railroad Company, which in the following year was incorporated by the Legislature of New York. This company completed the road January, 27, 1855, and it has since been kept in continuous operation. There were subsequent modifications of the contract and in its last amended form it is to continue in force for ninety-nine years from August 16, 1867, after which period the entire property is to go without compensation to

the Government of Colombia, by which name New Granada has been designated since 1862. Nearly all of the stock of this company is now owned or controlled by the New Panama Canal Company. It was purchased by the old Panama Canal Company, because the latter could not construct its canal along or near the line of the railroad without coming to some agreement with the Panama Railroad Company and this could most easily be accomplished by owning a majority of the stock. These shares were among the assets of the old company when it went into liquidation.

Soon after the treaty with New Granada was ratified, negotiations were entered into with Nicaragua for the arrangement of terms upon which a canal might be constructed through its territory. Mr. Elijah Hise, *chargé d'affaires* of the United States, joined in signing such a treaty in June, 1849, but his action was unauthorized and it was never sent to the Senate for ratification. He was succeeded by Mr. E. G. Squier, who negotiated another treaty upon the subject, which received like treatment at Washington. He also negotiated a contract for the construction of an interoceanic canal or railroad in the interest of the American Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal Company, which was organized by Cornelius Vanderbilt, Joseph L. White, Nathaniel H. Wolfe and their associates. This contract was dated in August, 1849, and granted the exclusive privilege for eighty-five years of excavating a ship canal for vessels of all sizes from Greytown, or any other feasible point on the Atlantic, to Realejo, the Gulf of Amapala or Fonseca, Tamorinda San Juan del Sur or any other point on the Pacific by the San Juan River, Lake Managua, Tipitapa River and Lake Managua or any other waters of the republic. The contract also permitted the company to construct rail or carriage roads and bridges and to establish steamboats and other vessels on the rivers and lakes, as accessories to and in furtherance of the canal project. The latter part of this contract was separated from the former in August, 1851, by

authorizing the organization of a new company with the same membership but distinct and separate, to be known as the Accessory Transit Company, which was to execute the part of the contract relating to the navigation of the waters of the state. But this arrangement was not to relieve either party from the obligations of the original contract. This Accessory Transit Company established and maintained for many years, in connection with steamship lines in both oceans, a transportation route from Greytown up the San Juan River and across Lake Nicaragua by steamboats to Virgin Bay, on the western side of the lake, and thence by stage coaches over a well-kept road to San Juan del Sur.

The part of the contract relating to the canal was never extended, but the company had a careful instrumental survey of the route made by Colonel Orville W. Childs, which has been of great value to subsequent explorers. The general course of the line that he recommended has been followed in all subsequent surveys and has been accepted with some variations as the best. After the failure of the American Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal Company, no further steps were taken towards the construction of a canal through Nicaragua until 1884, but in the meantime other surveys and examinations were made under the authority of the United States in investigating the merits and advantages of the different canal routes.

In December, 1884, the Frelinghuysen-Zavala treaty was negotiated between the United States and Nicaragua. It authorized the construction of a ship canal by the former through the territory of the latter, to be owned by the two contracting parties. When completed it was to be managed by a board of six directors, three to be appointed by Nicaragua and three by the United States. One of the latter was to be designated as chairman and was to have an additional vote whenever the members were equally divided. The net earnings of the work, when completed and in operation, were to be divided quarterly between the two owners, one-third to go to Nicaragua and two-thirds to the United States.

The treaty provided for a perpetual alliance between the two republics and obligated the United States to protect the integrity of the territory of Nicaragua. It was rejected by the Senate, but a motion was entered to reconsider the vote and the matter went over to the next Congress. It was then withdrawn from further consideration by President Cleveland for the reason that its terms were inconsistent with the policy of the United States.

In April, 1887, Nicaragua granted a concession to Aniceto G. Menocal and his associates to construct a canal from Greytown up to the San Juan River, across Lake Nicaragua and thence to the Pacific. They organized the Maritime Canal Company, of Nicaragua, and in August, 1881, obtained a like concession from Costa Rica, whose territory would also be affected by the construction of the proposed waterway. The company obtained from the Congress of the United States an act of incorporation, approved February 20, 1889, and entered upon the work of construction. But the work was discontinued in August, 1893, and in October, 1899, Nicaragua declared that the concession was forfeited.

Before the expiration of the time for the completion of the canal by the Maritime Canal Company, Nicaragua entered into another canal contract with Edward Eyre and Edward F. Cragin, who agreed to organize a company to be called the Interoceanic Canal Company, but the privileges were forfeited because the company failed to pay into the treasury of the republic, within four months after its organization, an additional guaranty deposit of $400,000, according to the terms of its agreement.

While the Maritime Canal Company was endeavoring to secure the construction of the canal under its charter, efforts were made in Congress to secure the assistance of the United States, and bills for that purpose, differing somewhat in their terms, were twice passed by the Senate, but no final action was taken upon either of them by the House of Rep-

resentatives. The friends of a canal did, however, secure in March, 1895, an appropriation for a survey of the Nicaragua route and the Nicaragua Canal Board was organized for this purpose. It was composed of Colonel William Ludlow, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A.; Civil Engineer M. T. Endicott, U. S. N., and Civil Engineer Alfred Noble. This board reported that it had been unable with the means at its command, and within the time fixed in the law, to make a thorough survey and recommended that the work be continued and that a larger appropriation be made. Accordingly in June, 1897, a new appropriation was made to carry out the recommendation of the board and the Nicaragua Canal Commission was constituted. It was composed of Rear Admiral John G. Walker, U. S. N.; Colonel Peter C. Hains, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., and Professor Lewis M. Haupt, Civil Engineer. This Commission presented its report in May, 1899, and the results of its labors were printed for the use of the Isthmian Canal Commission, which was appointed in June, 1899, under a law approved March 3, 1899. This Commission, of which Admiral Walker was elected president, was required to examine all the proposed canal routes across the American isthmus and to report the cost of constructing a canal at each, and also which is the most feasible and practicable route.

The report has recently been presented to the President and laid before Congress. It contains plans and estimates for a canal by each of the two routes, at Panama and Nicaragua, and recommends the latter as the most feasible in view of all the facts and circumstances.

During the seventy-five years that this brief history covers there have been many grants, concessions and contracts made by the states within whose territory the different canal routes lie to companies, associations and individuals, authorizing the construction of a maritime canal, but none of the enterprises has been successful. Failure and annulment have thus far followed every effort, except in the case of the

New Panama Canal Company, which has had two extensions of its charter because of its inability to complete its work within the time prescribed, according to its obligations, and has for several years been trying to dispose of some interest in its property to the United States.

It seems manifest, therefore, that so vast an undertaking is not likely to be carried to a successful completion unless it is undertaken by a willing government with abundant means and resources.

The Congress of the United States must have been impressed with this view when, in March, 1899, it passed the law under which the Isthmian Canal Commission was organized, for it contains the first legislation in our national history which contemplates the construction of an interoceanic communication across the American isthmus to be under the sole control, management and ownership of the United States.

This involves the continued occupation and use of foreign territory by agents, employees and laborers in the service and pay of our government, and requires the consent of the sovereign power within whose jurisdiction the required territory lies.

No treaty has ever been made by Colombia, by Nicaragua or by Costa Rica with the United States giving such consent, and the concessions which these republics have granted from time to time to companies, associations and individuals have generally, if not always, contained conditions which prohibited their transfer to a foreign government. But Nicaragua has not always maintained this attitude; the Hise treaty was negotiated with the consent of that government in 1849, and the Frelinghuysen-Zavala treaty in 1884. Each of these authorized the United States to occupy Nicaragua territory for the construction and operation of a canal from sea to sea; each of them was signed by the representatives of the two governments, and they failed because they were not ratified by the United States Senate.

But whatever the policy of the three republics may have been in the past they seem to have reached the same conclusions as the United States, that the magnitude and cost of the work will continue to discourage private enterprise, and that its construction should be undertaken by a friendly government.

Colombia gave her consent a few months ago to the New Panama Canal Company, if terms satisfactory to it and to the government could be made, to sell its rights, privileges and unfinished work to the United States, and Nicaragua and Costa Rica, in December, 1900, entered into protocols by the terms of which they were to negotiate with the United States, at the proper time, so as to arrange a plan for the occupation and use of their territory by the latter for the construction and operation of the proposed interoceanic canal by the Nicaragua route.

The obstacle then in the way was the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, entered into between the United States and Great Britain on the nineteenth of April, 1850, by the terms of which, each of the signatory powers was pledged to the other not to obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over a ship canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans through Nicaragua, by the way of the River San Juan and either or both of the Lakes of Nicaragua and Managua. Recent negotiations have resulted in a new treaty between these contracting parties to take the place of this treaty of 1850. This treaty having been ratified by the United States Senate, the way is open for treaties with Nicaragua and Costa Rica upon the lines indicated by the protocols.

The details of the treaties must be arranged by the treaty-making power and with the present disposition of the governments, within whose territory the routes lie, there is good reason to believe that satisfactory results can be obtained, whether Congress, in legislating for the construction of a canal, selects the Panama or the Nicaragua route.

Let us consider the situation and determine what privileges should be granted to the Government of the United States to deal with its requirements successfully.

An engineering work of unprecedented proportions is to be constructed in a foreign country, and after its completion it is to be maintained and operated. It will take eight or ten years, perhaps longer, to construct the work, during which period thousands of officials, assistants, mechanics and laborers must be employed. After its completion a smaller force will be sufficient for its maintenance and operation. There will be an annual disbursement of many millions of dollars; working parties must be organized and kept at work upon different parts of the isthmus; the laborers must be controlled and protected by police and sanitary regulations. The United States must have power to enforce its contracts, to bring to punishment those in its employ who may be guilty of theft, embezzlement or other crimes, and restrain and control the idle and vicious hordes that will gather about the outskirts of the camps and quarters along the line of construction.

When the canal is completed and in operation there must be power to collect tolls, lighthouse charges and other dues, to maintain and enforce quarantine and other regulations, and to protect the officers, crews and passengers upon the vessels which pass through the canal, as well as those employed in the canal service. The main work and its dependencies and the vessels that use any of them must be protected from trespass and injury and defended in case of attack or violent demonstrations.

Authority must be given to construct or improve harbors and approaches to the canal at each terminus, also to establish lighthouses, docks, piers and other appropriate works. The rivers and lakes, whose waters are to be used in operating the canal and the streams tributary to them, must be subject to control with power to raise or lower their levels, and to rectify and change their courses whenever it becomes

necessary, whatever effect the deviation of the waters or their increased depth may have upon the adjacent public lands, and with just and appropriate provision for damages in cases of private ownership.

The United States should have the free right to take, from lands belonging to the state, timber, rock or any other materials whatsoever, necessary or convenient for the construction, repair or operation of the main work and its dependencies, or for use at the harbors or entrances, and the right to take such materials from private lands should also be granted upon the same terms as when they are taken and used by the state for public purposes.

The right should be granted to import into the state, free from all customs, duties and charges, all machinery, tools, implements and materials of all kinds that may be necessary or useful for the construction, maintenance and operation of the canal and the auxiliary works connected therewith; also all provisions, medicines, clothing, building materials and other articles for the use of the officers and employees in the canal service and their families. These importations should be made under suitable regulations and restrictions so as to prevent violations or evasions of the customs laws of the state.

In order to accomplish these ends and purposes, the United States should obtain control of a strip of territory to include the canal line and auxiliary works from ocean to ocean and a harbor at each terminus. The strip should be not less than five miles in breadth, on each side from the centre line of the canal, with additional territory to include any dependencies that must necessarily be located at a greater distance. This width is desirable so that such ordinances, rules and regulations as may be made with reference to the canal property, may be enforced throughout a territorial jurisdiction broad enough to accomplish the purposes for which they are designed. If the possession and control are limited to the territory occupied by and immediately

adjacent to the property, it will be impracticable to keep intruders and undesirable persons away from the immediate vicinity of the canal and the camps and quarters of the employees and laborers, or to exclude or restrain any traffic likely to cause trouble or disorder.

At the harbors and entrances there should be suitable locations for lighthouses and other aids to navigation, quarantine stations, docks, coaling facilities, and such other establishments as it may be desirable to maintain.

It is important to consider what title should be obtained to the strip and other territory. The most desirable arrangement would be an actual cession and relinquishment of sovereignty to the United States. Our government would then have absolute control of the territory, it would be subject to Congressional legislation, our laws could be enforced there without restriction or supervision and it could be defended by our own army and navy whenever attacked. This, however, is not practicable. The different routes lie within the limits of sister republics with which we are upon the most friendly terms. These republics do not desire to dispose of any of their territory and there is no power contained in their constitutions to enable them to do so, if the government and people were willing to entertain a proposition to cede land for canal purposes to the United States.

But there is no constitutional barrier in the way of acquiring such control by the United States as will be sufficient for the construction and operation of a canal and its dependencies with full authority to exercise all the powers and accomplish all the results that have been specified, by the permission and under the sovereignty of the republic whose territory is to be used and occupied.

The United States should secure this right of control without limit as to time. The concessions hitherto granted to individuals, associations and companies, almost without exception have been limited to terms of years; in some cases provision has been made for a renewal of the privileges

for a second term, but in the end the entire property was to go to the republic granting the concession without repayment of the money invested or any part of it to the concessionaire or grantee. Such a condition will not be acceptable to the United States. If an isthmian canal is constructed by American enterprise, skill and industry, with public money or credit, it will be a work not merely for the present generation, but for all time. Its value and importance will in all probability increase as the decades pass and new centuries come, and we should be false to those who are to come after us were we to enter into an obligation to let it pass into other hands at any time in the future without other compensation than its use and the tolls collected during the term of possession. The property rights which the United States may acquire should be in perpetuity. The most desirable tenure is under a fee simple title, but the canal can be operated without danger of interruption under a perpetual lease or a lease for a long term of years with an obligation of renewal from time to time as the terms expire.

There should be no divided ownership. If the United States should acquire a half interest in the property or less, it would be without controlling authority. A larger and controlling interest would still be unsatisfactory, for the other owner would be entitled to some voice in the management and would have a right to inspect and investigate the books, accounts and expenditures of the canal enterprise.

The policy of the United States would be to operate the work in the best interests of the country without regard to financial profits. The promotion of national growth, the extension of commerce, the establishment of closer business relations between the Atlantic and Pacific States would from the American standpoint no doubt outweigh the importance of large profits and low rates of toll would be advocated, perhaps so low as to cover but little more than the actual cost of maintenance and operation.

The other owner, not being concerned about American

interests, would desire speedy and large returns and insist upon rates that would promise this result.

Another question worthy of attention is the consideration to be paid for the rights and privileges which the United States desires to acquire and exercise in order to prosecute this canal enterprise.

A share in the profits is subject to all the objections of divided ownership. The government should have the entire control and management of the property, free from all interests which may interfere with whatever policy it may desire to maintain.

The consideration should be a definite and fixed sum, to to be paid as may be agreed by the terms of the treaty; or an annual sum to be paid at a specified date each year or quarterly; or a fixed sum coupled with annual or quarterly payments. Either one of these three methods would prevent misunderstandings and differences and ought to be satisfactory to the contracting parties, but the chief difficulty to be determined is the amount to be paid.

The state that secures the great boon of an interoceanic canal without the expenditure of money or the pledge of credit, can well afford to act liberally with the government that proposes to build it. The annual output of the large sums necessary for its construction within the territory will give vigor to every industry and the opening of a new and great channel through the country for travel and trade will bring it into ready communication with the leading commercial nations of both hemispheres. No other country can hope to gain such advantages from the successful completion and operation of an isthmian canal as that through whose territory it will pass.

It can well afford to offer free occupation and all the privileges that have been enumerated without charge, as an inducement to the United States to select the route within its limits. But it is not probable that this will be done, and the first step in the direction of construction, after the rela-

tions between Great Britain and the United States upon this canal question have been adjusted, will be to arrange this question of price.

There is little in the history of the past to guide or instruct us as to what amount should be expected or demanded for the rights and privileges that the United States will require for the successful prosecution of the enterprise. The contracts heretofore made and negotiated by Colombia, Nicaragua and Costa Rica with the United States and its citizens, who have prepared to undertake similar enterprises in the past, may throw some light upon the subject and brief reference will be made to them.

Two treaties, which have been already mentioned, have been negotiated by Nicaragua permitting the occupation of the territory of that republic by the United States for canal purposes. There was no money consideration to be paid by the terms of the Hise treaty, but the United States undertook to protect and defend Nicaragua in the possession and exercise of sovereign authority over all its territory within the true boundaries of the state.

The Frelinghuysen-Zavala treaty proposed a joint ownership in a canal, to be constructed by the United States through territory belonging to Nicaragua, and a division of the net profits made by operating it. Neither of these treaties was acceptable to the United States.

Two concessions for the construction of a canal through Nicaragua have been made by that state to citizens of the United States during the past fifteen years.

The pecuniary consideration for the Menocal contract was to be 6 per cent in amount of the shares, bonds, certificates or other securities which the company of execution might issue to raise its corporate capital. These shares or securities were to be full-paid and non-assessable, and were in no event to amount to less than $4,000,000 in face value.

The Interoceanic Canal Company, represented by Eyre & Cragin, was to have valuable banking, mercantile and other

privileges and franchises, to be exercised in different parts of the state, besides the right to construct and operate a maritime canal and the auxiliary works connected with it.

These privileges were to continue in perpetuity and the immediate consideration, to be paid to the government upon the organization of the company, was 8 per cent of the total amount of stock issued, the same to be full-paid and non-assessable, and in no event to be less in par value than $8,000,000 in American gold. After a period of 199 years the government was to have a share in the profits of the enterprise, in addition to the dividends upon its stock.

The Interoceanic Canal Company obtained no concession from Costa Rica, but the Maritime Canal Company, of Nicaragua, which was organized to execute the Menocal concession, entered into a contract with Costa Rica as well as with Nicaragua. The terms of these contracts as to the consideration were similar, except as to the amount of shares or securities the government was to receive in the Costa Rica contract; this was to be not less than $1,500,000 in face value.

The Government of Colombia has never negotiated a treaty with the United States authorizing the use and occupancy of its territory for the construction of a canal, and the only concessions made to companies or individuals within the last fifty years, authorizing the construction of a communication from sea to sea across the Isthmus of Panama, are those with the Panama Railroad Company and with the old Panama Canal Company and its successor.

The contract with the Panama Railroad Company was modified and extended in 1867. The immediate consideration paid to the Colombian Government was $1,000,000 in American gold or its equivalent, and in addition thereto the company was to pay annually to the government, in quarterly payments, the sum of $250,000 in American gold. The contract also secured to the government certain transportation privileges upon the railroad.

The old Panama Canal Company obligated itself to pay for the privileges granted to it 5 per cent on all collections of dues made by it in the operation of the canal during the first twenty-five years after its opening. This was to be increased to 6 per cent during a second period of twenty-five years, to 7 per cent during a third period, and to 8 per cent from the seventy-sixth year to the termination of the privilege at the end of the ninety-ninth year. It was guaranteed that this sum should not be less in any year than $250,000. The company also agreed to give the government free transportation through the canal in certain specified cases.

Extensions were subsequently granted to the liquidator or receiver of the old company and to the New Panama Canal Company, in consideration of different sums amounting to 17,000,000 francs or $3,230,000, also dividend-bearing shares of the stock in the new company full paid, amounting in par value to 5,000,000 francs or $950,000.

There are no concessionary obligations now in force to prevent Nicaragua or Costa Rica from entering into a convention with the United States, granting the privileges necessary for the construction and operation of a canal by the Nicaragua route, and fixing the terms and the consideration to be paid therefor, but the situation is different at Panama.

The New Panama Canal Company controls the two concessions granted by Colombia to the Panama Canal Company and to the old Panama Canal Company with the extensions of the latter. These give to it exclusive control of the territory throughout Panama and Darien for canal purposes, and each contract contains a prohibition forbidding its transfer to a foreign government. The stockholders and creditors of the old company have an interest in the new organization, which is represented by the liquidator or receiver appointed by the court that has jurisdiction of the proceedings in liquidation. By the terms of the charter of the new company, 60 per cent of its net income after

paying all expenses, charges and stipulated dividends, will belong to the old company in liquidation, and is to be distributed by the liquidator among the parties in interest. This right to a share in the profits gives no right to those who enjoy it to take part in the acts or administration of the new company. They are represented by the officer of the court appointed for their protection, and if any sale or transfer of the concessions, rights, privileges or property of the New Panama Canal Company is made, he must be a party to it; the transaction will require judicial sanction; and can only be completed under an order of the court from which the liquidator derives his authority.

In the negotiations between the Isthmian Canal Commission and Mr. Hutin, the president of the new Panama Canal Company, it was understood that he was acting with the consent of the liquidator, and that if satisfactory terms for a sale of the rights, property and unfinished work of the company to the United States should be agreed upon, it would be with the understanding that a perfect title would be given, and this would require the confirmatory action of the court.

The actual and just value of the company's rights and property amounted to $109,141,500, according to the figures which Mr. Hutin presented to the Commission, and these were submitted to the President in its report.

The cost of completing the Panama Canal, according to the estimates of the Commission, is $144,233,358. These sums amount to $253,374,858, while the cost of constructing the Nicaragua Canal is estimated at $189,864,062, a difference in favor of the latter of $63,510,796.

The figures of the company were regarded by the Commission as so unreasonable that the acceptance of the offer could not be recommended, and the opinion was expressed that, considering all the facts developed by its investigations, and having in view the terms offered by the New Panama Canal Company, the most practicable and feasible

route for an isthmian canal, to be under the control, management and ownership of the United States, is that known as the Nicaragua route.

The treaty-making power is now engaged in removing the only obstruction in the way of conventions with the governments of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, that control the route thus declared to be the most feasible. The new treaty with Great Britain has been ratified. When the negotiations with these two republics are completed the first decisive step in the great work of connecting the two oceans by a maritime canal will have been taken. The United States will then have all the authority it requires from other powers to construct and operate the isthmian canal. The period devoted to rights, privileges and concessions will be closed.

Legislation and construction are still to come, and the present indications are that prompt Congressional action will be followed by the inauguration of the work without unnecessary delay.

SAMUEL PASCO.

Isthmian Canal Commission, Washington, D. C.

PRESENT STATUS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF AMERICAN SHIPBUILDING.

Not since the early fifties has American shipbuilding enjoyed so large a measure of prosperity as that of to-day. Nearly a half million registered tons were added last fiscal year. On June 15, 1901, eighty-nine merchant ships and seventy-one war vessels were reported as being under construction, making a total of 135 vessels with a combined tonnage capacity of 488,700 tons. The trade authorities report that the shipyards engaged in building steel ships have orders which will require fully twelve months to fill, operating at their full capacity.[1] Wooden ship construction on the Maine coast and in the far northwest seems to be no less favored. For the past two or three years shipbuilders have been especially occupied with the construction of ships for the country's coasting trade, and for a longer period with the building of war vessels of various types. On the Atlantic seaboard the chief feature of progress in this industry has been in naval construction and in the evolution of a larger type of many-masted schooners. On the Great Lakes the steam-freighter types, with a maximum tonnage of 9,000 tons, gross register, are still the characteristic contribution of these inland seas to this phase of national development.

The shipbuilding industry on the Pacific Coast for the past three years, according to the *Scientific American's* reports, has enjoyed a period of extraordinary activity. From January, 1898, to September, 1900, thirty-two months, the number of new ships built aggregated seventy-four, with a total tonnage capacity of 37,910. Government vessels were not included in the list. Of the new craft, forty-five, with a tonnage of 14,229, were schooners, five were barkentines of 4,597 tons, one was a barge of 632 tons, and twenty-three

[1] Blue Book of American Shipping, Preface, 1901.

were steamers having a tonnage of 18,452. The largest of the schooners rated 985 tons, and of the steamers, 4,597 tons. Of the latter, three, aggregating 7,298 tons, were built of iron, the others of wood. San Francisco builders were the constructors of the larger number of both iron and wooden ships; but almost every port on the coast, from San Pedro to Puget Sound, wherever the necessary supplies of lumber were to be had, contributed to the total result. Creditable as the exhibit is, the outlook is even more flattering. There is not a shipbuilder along the 2,000 miles of coast who has not all the work contracted for that can possibly be handled and who could not easily duplicate his present undertakings if the supply of labor warranted it.

The cause of this prosperity is easily explained. For many years prior to 1898 the industry languished, and the carrying trade, which had been stimulated by artificial "booms," was greatly depressed. Dividends on marine property were small. The earnings were swallowed up by heavy expenses. Losses by sea were not made good. The actual number of coast ships was considerably decreased.

Just at the time when the maritime prospect seemed darkest the extraordinary development of Alaska began. It was found that the number of vessels available for this profitable traffic was far below the demand. Every vessel that could be procured was chartered for the Alaskan trade. High charters caused many to be withdrawn from the coast carrying trade, and a considerable scarcity of vessels for ordinary requirements began to be felt. Then came the revival of the Oriental trade, in which the Pacific shipbuilders found another pressing demand for their output. There appears from trade returns to be no abatement at any point. Owing later to South African conditions, the call for ships was still further improved. Besides these local evidences of prosperity the shipbuilding talent of the nation still holds the world's pennant in the making as well as in the management of pleasure craft, which the

growth of private wealth has enabled an increasing proportion of our citizens to enjoy. Largely for this and other purposes the United States has always built ships for sale to foreigners. Since the Civil War the annual tonnage of all kinds sold to foreigners has ranged from 10,000 to 80,000 tons in round numbers.

As yet the main demand for the product of our shipyards, with the exception of a few war vessels ordered by foreign governments, has come from the necessities of national defense and the requirements of our domestic development. But the progress of the iron and steel industry in this country, the necessity of finding foreign markets for our surplus manufactures and the extension of railway control over lake and ocean transportation, have all, among other causes, contributed to inaugurate a new era in the making of ships. Surplus capital is again going down to sea in ships. Now for the first time in our history is shipbuilding being organized on an extensive scale in the consolidated companies on the Lakes, on the individual enterprises on the New England coast, on the Delaware River, the Chesapeake Bay, the bay of San Francisco, and the Puget Sound. On the western rivers the output is still comparatively small, though not by any means losing ground.

The table on page 49 gives the tonnage built for twenty-two years.

The tonnage built on the Great Lakes has hitherto had almost no relation to the demand for ocean tonnage. Within a few years some vessels have left the lakes at the close of the season to engage in the coastwise trade between seasons. But as a rule the lake-built ships have had to limit themselves to fresh water requirements. Lake trade depends largely on raw materials and crude commodities. Additions to tonnage on these waters are directly affected by the volume of trade in agricultural products and the raw materials of industry.

Shipbuilding to-day in the United States stands on an en-

Progress of Shipbuilding in the United States.

[From Report of the Commissioner of Navigation.]

YEAR ENDING JUNE 30.	Built on seacoast.	Built on Mississippi and tributaries.	Built on Great Lakes.	Total annual addition.	Sailing Vessels.		Steam Vessels.		Total Built.
					Number.	Gross tons.	Number.	Gross tons.	Number.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.					
1880	101,720	32,791	22,899	157,410	460	59,057	348	78,853	902
1881	125,766	81,189	73,504	280,459	493	81,209	444	118,070	1,108
1882	188,084	35,817	58,369	282,270	666	118,798	502	121,843	1,371
1883	210,349	26,443	28,638	265.430	721	137 046	439	107,229	1,268
1884	178,419	16,664	30,431	225.514	706	120.621	410	91,328	1,190
1885	121,010	11,220	26,826	159,056	533	65,362	338	84,332	920
1886	64,458	10,595	20.400	95,453	405	41,237	240	44.467	715
1887	83,061	10,901	56,488	150,450	447	34,633	299	100,074	844
1888	105 125	11,859	101,103	218,087	423	48,590	430	142,006	1,014
1889	111,852	12,202	107,080	231,134	489	50,570	440	159,318	1,077
1890 . .	169,091	16,506	108,526	294,123	505	102,873	410	159,045	1,051
1891	237,462	19,984	111,856	369.302	733	144,290	488	185,037	1,384
1892	138,863	14.801	45,969	199,633	846	83,217	438	92,531	1,395
1893	102,830	9 538	99,271	211,639	493	49,348	380	134,308	956
1894	80,099	9,111	41,985	131,195	477	37,827	293	83 720	838
1895	67,127	8,122	36,353	111,602	397	34 900	248	69,754	694
1896	102,544	15,771	108,782	227.097	369	65,236	286	138,028	723
1897	103,504	11,792	116,937	232,233	338	64,308	288	106,153	891
1898	112,879	13,495	54,084	180,458	359	34.416	394	105,838	952
1899	196.120	23,552	80,366	300,038	420	98,073	439	151,058	1,273
1900	249,006	14,173	130,611	393,790	504	116,460	422	202,528	1,447
1901	291,516	22,888	169,085	483,489	526	126,165	506	273,591	1,580

tirely different basis compared with the position it occupied ten or twenty years ago. It has changed greatly as an industry in its relation to other industries, to the investing public, to commerce and to governmental policy. One does not readily realize how rapidly this branch of industry has grown in financial strength and in commercial value. Within a decade the capital invested has nearly trebled, wages earned have likewise doubled, and substantially the same may be said of both the expenditure for shipbuilding materials and of the value of the products of our shipyards. The number of establishments is about stationary. The number of plants in 1890 was 1,008; and in 1900, 1,083, only 77 more. The following table gives the status of the shipbuilding industry in the United States, exclusive of the United States navy yards, according to a preliminary report of the Census Bureau:

Items.	1900.	1890.
Number of establishments	1,083	1,006
Capital	$76,699,651	$27,262,892
Average number wage earners	46,121	22,143
Total wages	$24,388,109	$13,083,919
Miscellaneous expenses	3,582,257	1,392,351
Cost of materials used	33,031,280	16,521,246
Value of products, including custom work and repairing	73,444,753	38,065,410

The annual increase in our merchant marine represents the measure of demand for ships under the national flag. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, this increase was 6.96 per cent over that of the preceding year. This rate is the highest since 1855. From the latter date to the present time the tonnage figures show a series of slow recoveries and abrupt reactions in the demands of our merchant marine upon the shipyards. As late as 1886 more than one-third of the annual increase in tonnage was sold to foreigners. Spasms of promise have so frequently been followed by col-

lapse that, in spite of our growing foreign commerce and our increasing importance as a naval power, our shipbuilding has concerned itself almost exclusively with meeting the requirements of our coastwise and interior commerce.

This is well brought out by a comparison of the documented tonnage in foreign and domestic trade and in fisheries on June 30, 1861, when the United States still had prominent rank in foreign trade, with that on June 30, 1901, when the total tonnage was nearly equal to that of forty years ago. The table shows that the coastwise trade has been absorbing our ships, and now utilizes four-fifths of the total tonnage of the country.

Documented Tonnage of the United States.

[From Report of Commissioner of Navigation.]

	1861. Tons.	1901. Tons.	Difference. Tons.
Foreign Trade . . .	2,496,894	879,595	—1,617,299
Coasting Trade . .	2,704,544	4,582,683	+1,878,139
Fisheries	338,375	61,940	— 276,435
Total	5,539,813	5,524,218	— 15,595

The reasons for the transformation implied in these figures are historical. As the writer has stated elsewhere,[1] from 1830 to 1890 our problems were essentially internal. Most of them for most of the time were intensely exacting. It was not that national lethargy had dulled the desire for ships, as some would have us think. That analysis is economically false to facts. For the time being our hands as a nation were full—full of work as honorable as shipbuilding and ocean commerce, and far more urgent and fundamental. The dominance of internal affairs over foreign commerce began to appear by the end of the first quarter of the cen-

[1] The Shipping Industry in the United States, p. 1383. United States Treasury Bureau of Statistics, December, 1900.

tury. Even as early as the war of 1812 our national problems gradually ceased to be maritime and became territorial. In 1824 a group of New York shipowners protested to Congress against the policy of economic isolation, by which capital and labor were induced to desert ocean commerce for the more remunerative pursuits of internal development. Only so long as that policy was in doubt did our ships maintain a foremost rank among maritime powers. As soon, however, as the "American policy" of economic isolation became continuous, then capital and labor employed in shipping, and consequently in shipbuilding for ocean trade, found themselves placed on an entirely different basis of earning power compared with that portion of the national capital and labor devoted to internal development. Capital devoted to shipbuilding for the sea trade had to earn returns under the stress of competition in the open world's markets, while the products of capital and labor within the national limits were sold in the national market, within which the prevailing rate of returns has always been higher than in the international market. On footings so clearly unequal, in a period of economic activity when the demand for labor and capital as a rule exceeded the supply, it was inevitable that the decadence of our merchant marine should coincide with the development of our domestic resources.

Now again the national interests have, by the logic of events, become maritime. Meanwhile the economic life of the people has also become more complex and comprehensive in its needs. From being primarily agricultural it has become industrial and then commercial. It is all of these that call for ships. Changes in our commercial relations with the world market have greatly modified the national attitude toward shipbuilding. The gains of our exports upon our imports during the latest decade have thrown upon the American producer the burden of finding over-sea markets for a growing surplus.

Growth in volume of ocean commerce of itself introduces

a new element into the question of the national demand for ships. By transferring an increasing proportion of the national surplus to the custody of the seas, to find markets, it calls for a more complete control of carrying agencies by those directly responsible for national prosperity. Private and public interests seem to coincide in requiring that no nation of an exporting rank such as is now held by the United States should delegate its maritime commerce to its national rivals.

The maritime arm of the distributive system, on which we are dependent for finding and holding such markets as our surplus needs, thus becomes part of the more complete commercial equipment which progress from an agricultural to a commercial nation has forced upon us. Until recently the emphasis was put on the home market in national discussion. Now we speak as world merchants and as world financiers. These comprehensive aims all tend to force surplus capital into a merchant marine, now that other channels of investment are no longer prejudicially profitable compared with shipping and shipbuilding. Between the home market and the world market the bridge of a national merchant marine is a logical necessity.

The present status of American shipbuilding has still further to be looked at from points of view that are peculiarly its own. The industry as it stands now is clearly connected in its development with the naval policy of the national government. This policy has resulted in calling into existence more shipbuilding plants operating on a larger scale and with more permanent conditions than the commercial demand succeeded in doing. It has drawn together mechanical equipment and engineering talent of a superior order to execute its contracts. It has distributed these contracts among shipyards on the seacoasts of the Atlantic and the Pacific in such a way as to equip every one of our great oceanic inlets, excepting those on the Gulf Coast, with superior shipyards. It has, by insisting that its vessels should be the products of

American skill and material, and of American model and design, attracted investing capital and constructive labor. All of these have helped to lay the foundations of a new order of things. It is true that the influence of naval policy is usually quite indirect in its effects on commercial shipbuilding, but the connection has been none the less promotive of industrial efficiency in this field. Competition among shipyards for governmental contracts has taken a wider range and been perceptibly keener with each successive award. Besides this general result, the high standard of workmanship required on governmental work has improved the grade and quantity of mechanical ability as applied to the building of steel merchant ships especially. Possibly there has been some disadvantage in turning a force of workmen from governmental work, where extreme carefulness is required, to commercial work where so high a degree of finish and nicety are not essential. But in the long run it cannot be disputed that the wholesale building of warships has helped to create large plants out of small ones and to develop the large ones to a point at which it is no longer industrially necessary to look to foreign shipyards for our merchant fleets of the future. A still more direct effect of naval policy upon commercial shipbuilding is seen where the mercantile auxiliaries constitute a feature of the merchant marine subject to naval service in time of war.

From what has already been said it is plain that our commercial prosperity has put us face to face with the shipping question. At present our financiers who underwrite our commercial organizations are buying foreign ships in the effort to bring railway and ocean rates of freight under common control. If financial considerations are allowed to govern in these consolidations of distributive agencies on land and on sea, as they undoubtedly will, it is not any longer a question as to where the ships will come from. One thing is certain, namely, that hitherto the ocean trade has not been in the habit of coming to the United States for its ships.

Now, however, that the demand for the establishment of a national merchant marine is heard with increasing insistence, the question of the capacity of the American shipyards to supply the ships is foremost.

Can American shipyards build merchant ships at a cost that will enable shipping interests to operate them in open competition with vessels from the older establishments of Great Britain or even with those of Germany? The answer to such a question involves comparisons very difficult to make on a common basis. The methods of work, the differences in design, cost of materials, wages, superintendence, interest, depreciation and insurance, expenses of operation and other items including the advantages of production on a large scale, have to be taken into account. One fact seems to be established beyond doubt, namely, that the first cost of an American-built ship is greater than that of a British-built ship of exactly the same size, dimensions and speed. The same seems to be true of German work. On this basis of capital cost, the depreciation, interest and insurance would probably amount to fifteen per cent per annum as fixed charges other than direct expenses of operation. If the American-built vessel cost $1,846,800 and the British-built vessel cost $1,419,120, these fixed charges would be respectively, $277,020 and $212,868, leaving the British-built vessel with an advantage of $64,152 annual outlay on first cost. These figures are taken from actual examples of construction cost in leading British and American shipyards,[1] to each of which identical contracts were awarded for vessels of the same plan and type. If this single instance be not taken as conclusive evidence on the subject of relative cost, it is necessary to go farther to show that in dealing with the world-wide problem of shipbuilding for the ocean trade, the American yards and the European yards still stand on a quite different basis as competitors.

It would probably not be disputed that in bridgebuilding

[1] Report of Commissioner of Navigation, 1901, pages 23–24.

Americans easily lead the British and the Germans. And the unanimous opinion would be that it is the result of our experience during a half century of bridging streams under such a variety of conditions as to make us masters of almost any possible problem that may arise anywhere else in the world. Precisely the same may be said in explanation of the success of British and the relative failure of American shipbuilding. No field of commercial and industrial investment has been more liberally supplied with capital by the banks and the investing public than the shipbuilding and shipping interests of Great Britain. On the other hand, no American interest has been, until recently, so completely ignored as a rule by banks and investors generally as these phases of national enterprise—shipping and ship building. Until within a few years the American banker considered shipbuilding as an industry lying without the pale of legitimate investment. He belonged to a generation which knew nothing of the subject and cared less about it, when this field of investment was called to his attention. The history of American shipbuilding, like that of American farming, for the past fifty years is one of brave struggle to maintain an industry with a minimum of capital and hence a maximum of cost accompanied by the hazard of periodical depression. Financially it has been the most neglected of all our national industries.

Compare this with British shipbuilding, of which an experienced shipbuilder on the Pacific has said that it is the result of the very things we have not—prolonged and wide experience gained by shipowners and sailors, the embodiment of the principles of designing to meet universal conditions, the solution of problems worked out by the joint labors of naval architect, machinist, registration authorities and public criticism. American shipyards are still in the stage of adaptation to local conditions for the most part. On the lakes, within the limits of the local traffic requirements, the problems have been worked out as they arose with a high

degree of success. Likewise on the seaboard coastwise trade has preoccupied the attention of constructive progress, so that the cost has been brought within the limits of fairly profitable operation. But for the far greater problem of construction at a cost that will warrant investors in entering upon ocean competition, our shipyards have not yet proved themselves masters of their part of the situation.

In shop equipment American shops seem to excel in small tools and lifting appliances used in the handling of material. There are no such complete and economical methods of handling tools and materials by electricity anywhere in Europe as those of the Eastern Shipbuilding Company, at New London, and the New York Shipbuilding Company, at Camden, N. J. In large tools the American shop does not appear to be any better off. In engine building, as well as in the construction of the hull, the system of piece work is reduced to such a degree of precision in English shipyards that it is known or easily ascertained just what part of the total labor cost of a ship is to be charged to these parts of the work. Then there is a settled method of determining compensation for unit of product, while here no such uniformity has ever been agreed to. In spite of our advances in standardization in some directions, particularly in stationary engines, no such a complete system has been arrived at in the building of marine engines as that in British practice, where every part of an engine is gauged with precision to test the accuracy of the workmen's operations and the precision of the mechanics and tools used, so that without setting up the parts they may be sent to the ends of the earth with absolute certainty of fitting.

A comparison of foreign and domestic conditions leads to the impression that our shipbuilding industry is not evenly developed. In parts it is weak, as, for instance, in the development of standards of uniform cost of work. Higher wages per diem than is paid abroad still cover a multitude of sins of omission to organize work on the basis of results

accurately measured by uniform methods. In this direction there is room for development, if shipbuilding is to be brought up to the standard of organization in other industries. It has been stated that a standard-gauge system would reduce the cost of engine erection by as much as 50 per cent. Under American methods the same authority estimates that the labor cost on the hull of an average ocean going freight and passenger steamer, in an American yard, is 25 per cent more and the machinery 50 per cent more. Yet it is conceded that in point of quantity or output, in skill, in design, in handling machinery and in management our working force is superior.

Possibly the main reason for the difference in cost chargeable against our work lies in the variety of work which a shipyard has to do to keep itself going in the United States. Foreign shipyards have a continuous volume of work of a similar character, while our own yards work constantly on dissimilar designs and diverse specifications, so that it is the exception, rather than the rule, that the workman becomes familiar with his work from repetition of it in one ship after another. Almost every governmental order includes a more or less radical departure from previous specifications, so that naval requirements have hindered rather than helped toward reduction of cost by promoting similarity of type in construction. It is a matter of common knowledge that new types increase cost while standard types decrease cost. Protest after protest has been recorded against this mania for differentiation in type, but with little avail. In recently built merchant ships, both on the lakes and on the seaboard, the duplication of designs has become a matter of more frequent occurrence.

Another element of weakness in the shipbuilding situation in the United States is the large number of small and half-equipped yards and the small number of well-established ones. Excepting the Cramp shipyards, at Philadelphia, and possibly a few of lesser note, the United States has never

had a plant which devoted itself exclusively to this business without sooner or later meeting with financial failure. This is the record of the past twenty-five or thirty years. When demand for ships fell off the small yards have gone out of business for the time being. When prosperous trade called for more ships these very yards were given the contracts. In this way the burden for conserving and developing shipbuilding skill fell almost wholly on the few yards which remained in the business all the time. The wonder is not that we cannot build ships so cheaply as they are made in foreign yards, but that we can build them as well as we do under such conditions. The readiness with which a new plant can be called into existence, or an abandoned one revived, to get contracts is one of the marvels of this industry to foreigners.

It would not be fair to shipbuilders to omit one of their greatest difficulties in their attempt to develop their industry, a difficulty, moreover, which lies beyond their power to remedy under existing conditions of organization. No single element has been more embarrassing than the fluctuation in the prices of steel plates and angles. The price of shipbuilding steel has been known to increase 250 per cent in four months. This has no doubt somewhat abated, but on so high a level of prices as not to encourage the domestic manufacture of steel ships. British builders have the advantage of the steadying influences of the world's competition on prices of steel materials. For that reason they need never fear American competition in this field under existing differences in the cost of structural material. The high prices of steel material at home have no doubt something to do with the fact that on the seaboard 43,557 gross tons of wooden schooners and steamers were built last year, compared with 73,374 gross tons of steel steamers.

Nevertheless American shipbuilders and architects have made wonderful progress within a decade. They have gathered together the experience of the world on the subject. They have worked diligently and often unnoticed at every

phase of the problem. They have demonstrated their ability to design and construct, in the most satisfactory manner, with regard to time and efficiency, standard types of vessels for naval and mercantile service. Among the distinct contributions of this country to the making of ships should be mentioned the application of electrical power to the operation of machinery tools, cranes and other hoisting and handling methods, and the invention of small power tools, such as riveting, chipping, caulking and drilling appliances. All these advances lie in the direction of reduction in cost for unit of output. From this point of departure in further development two tendencies are at work. Within shipyards a more economical organization of the productive processes is going on to reduce costs by eliminating the unessential and by putting the emphasis on the essential elements of outlay. Such a process is slow and its results are not so quickly diffused from plant to plant as might be expected, notwithstanding the splendid spirit of comity among rival shipbuilders. The other tendency lies outside of the industry itself in the reduced cost of making shipbuilding materials, and in the growth of the demand for ships as a necessary extension of our distributive system. The problem of reducing the first cost of ships to the European level will have been solved when the annual output of our ship yards is five times what it now is. It is all a question of the volume of demand required by national development. The joint outcome of these two tendencies is inevitable. Meanwhile, in spite of all drawbacks the outlook is not only encouraging, but inspiring. Our national outlook has shifted to the sea politically, geographically and commercially. With this fact once fixed in the national consciousness clearly enough to see its connection with our past history and our present opportunity, it is not probable that any time will be lost in higgling over the terms on which these instruments of maritime power shall be called into being.

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GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS.

The object of this paper is merely to outline, without elaboration, some of the arguments for and against the public ownership of railroads.

For the Government of the United States to acquire the two hundred thousand miles of railways already constructed, undertake to conduct their vast operations by direct agency and extend the service with needful rapidity, is a project of such colossal import as to incline us to place it quite outside the range of probability. Nevertheless, it cannot be put aside as a purely speculative problem, for already there are many ardent advocates of the policy. In the rapid advancement which displays itself on every hand, not only in the methods of industrial production but in the aims and aspirations of our people, no one can tell how soon we may encounter a widespread and insistent demand for the public acquisition and management of our entire railway system. Moreover, as the nature of transportation is more clearly perceived, and views enlarge as to the functions which government may usefully exercise, it is to be expected that the argument in favor of railway nationalization will become more attractive and convincing. Private opinion and judicial utterance agree that railroads are public highways, having the same essential relation to social order as the streets and avenues which have been dedicated to public use and always controlled by the state as matters of primary and common concern. Therefore, public ownership and operation of our railways is chiefly important in its economic aspects; it is simply a question of expediency.

What may be called the political objection is naturally the first to occur. This objection takes a twofold form. In the first place, it is said that the public ownership of railroads is opposed to the traditional policy of our government and

the historic development of its institutions. While the doctrine of *laissez faire* was not, even at the outset, fully adopted, still the general sentiment of our people has deprecated the extension of state functions and discouraged any radical inroad upon spheres of action occupied by private enterprise. Besides, it is claimed that such an enormous increase of public activities would overtax the power of successful management and bring about a serious disproportion between public and private operations. To say nothing of the difficulties involved in the acquisition of these properties, the task of their administration would be so tremendous, and so liable to be poorly performed, as to endanger the business balance which now seems fairly well maintained. The weight of this objection is conceded, the satisfactory answer to it not easily made. We hardly see how the roads could be taken over gradually, thereby allowing for growth of experience in unaccustomed duties; apparently the entire system would have to be acquired at once, or within a comparatively short period, without time for adequate preparation. Still, we are not quite willing to place limits upon the ability of a people so intelligent and resourceful as our own. We may well claim that they have proved themselves equal to every demand, and that even this gigantic task is not beyond their capacity. The enlargement heretofore made in the field of public performance has been justified by results, and it may be confidently asserted that our government has up to this time assumed no function or activity which we would consent to have it abrogate. Nor can we deny as an abstract proposition that a self-governed people, worthy of their heritage and opportunities, may best realize their ideals by collectively doing more and more of the things which affect the public welfare.

The other form of this objection is the danger of abuse through party control of such vast properties, representing so large a share of the wealth now in private hands, and the enormous voting strength of a million or more of railway

employees. That this objection is a serious one cannot be denied. Such experience as we have had is hardly sufficient to relieve our apprehension. True, there is now a considerable army of government employees, and their influence upon the results of elections is scarcely appreciable; but what would happen, for the time being at least, if all the railway employees of the country suddenly became government servants, no one can safely predict. We may believe, however, that the nature and magnitude of their work would so emphasize the necessity of stringent civil service rules, and popular sentiment would so emphatically condemn any attempt to use the railway employees for political purposes, that the danger in this direction would be far less than many imagine and would not be long in disappearing. For myself, I do not regard this objection as serious enough of itself to decide the question in favor of private ownership.

This view is confirmed by the fact that railways now exert a powerful and often decisive influence upon public affairs. That influence is not confined to the control of votes upon election day, but extends to the conduct of primaries, the organization and sometimes the corruption of legislative bodies, the selection of appointive officials of every grade, and the enactment and administration of local, state and national laws. It is always alert, aggressive, selfish; it is sometimes unscrupulous and demoralizing to the last degree. We may well question whether government ownership would under any circumstances introduce into American politics a more vicious or dangerous force than railways now exert.

It goes without saying that there are serious evils connected with existing railway methods. The roads have been built by private capital and conducted for the most part as private enterprises. The principle of competition has been upheld by public opinion and enforced by state and national laws; yet the obvious results of that competition are discriminations which favor the few at the expense of the many, and which are a serious and often fatal disadvantage to those

who are denied favors which others enjoy. Capital always takes advantage of competition, and nowhere is that advantage greater than in the use of railway facilities. Almost any price may be profitably paid to secure immunity from practices which now prevail. Government ownership would undoubtedly remove these discriminations. It would insure open and stable rates, applied to all alike without variation or exception. The price of transportation would be as certain and unquestioned as the price of postage stamps. There might be some frauds in underbilling, false description of property, and the like, as there are frauds upon the customs and internal revenue laws, but adequate penal provisions and vigorous prosecution of wrongdoers would reduce offences of that character to a minimum. It would be a question of only a little time when all secret and preferential rates would disappear and equal treatment be accorded for equal service in all cases. This would be an immense gain, and herein lies perhaps the most persuasive argument in favor of public ownership. As against this, however, there would unavoidably be a certain rigidity of rates which would to some extent interfere with the ready adjustment of charges to changing commercial currents and the varying conditions of supply and demand. It is not probable that under a system of public ownership there could be quite the same adaptability of rates to business requirements as obtains under private ownership.

In addition to uniformity and equality of charges which would result from government ownership, the advocates of that policy claim other advantages which deserve consideration. One is the security of capital which would be invested in the obligations issued to purchase the roads. There is something to be said in favor of a national debt when the creditors are citizens of the debtor state and the holders of its promises to pay. As the basis of currency issues, as an investment for savings banks, trust companies, estates, and the large class of persons who are not fitted for active employ-

ment, there is apparently nothing better than government bonds. Indeed, it is difficult to provide a substitute security for these various and important purposes and others of similar character. If the railroads were self-supporting, that is, earned enough to pay the interest on their cost, provide for their running expenses, maintenance, extension and improvements, with rates at least equally as low as would be secured under private ownership, the obligations incurred in acquiring the properties, whether in the form of bonds or guaranteed stock, would meet an increasing demand and prove a safe and stable foundation for our financial system.

But more than this, the elimination of railway securities as they now exist would, it is claimed, produce much indirect benefit. These securities are at present among the principal subjects of speculation. The prices at which they are sold constantly fluctuate and often represent something quite different from the actual value or earning capacity of the roads. The gambling instinct is stimulated by sudden and extreme changes in quotations, with the consequent opportunity to make large gains quickly, while the corresponding losses are equally sudden and disastrous. To get rid of all this manipulation, to withdraw these securities from the exchanges and stop all speculation in railway shares, would seem to be a distinct advance in the direction of business morality. When fortunes could no longer be made by dealing in this class of stocks, the capital and ability now devoted to that pursuit would be turned into more legitimate channels. It might prove an object lesson of immense value. We scarcely realize the demoralizing effect of this many-sided lottery. The fact that fortunes are quickly acquired in this way excites the passion for gain and breeds discontent with the plodding methods of slow accumulation by diligent labor and constant economy. The moralist, as well as the economist, may find something worthy of reflection in the point here suggested.

It is further claimed that public ownership would secure

lower rates of transportation. Theoretically, this is true, but whether that result would be realized as a matter of practical experience is more than doubtful. It seems to be the case everywhere, and is likely to be for a long time to come, that government service costs more in proportion to the work performed than private service. It is quite conceivable that the railroads of this country could be made to pay interest, say from 3 to 4 per cent, on their fair valuation, in addition to all their expenses, with a general scale of rates somewhat below the present standard. Given the same efficiency of management, the same energy and economy of administration, the same basis of wages and salaries as obtain under private ownership, and a considerably smaller charge than is now paid per unit of service would be sufficient for financial solvency. But this assumes a state of things not likely to exist if the railroads were operated as a government function. Any expectation to the contrary is not warranted by knowledge of what has generally characterized the various branches of government service.

Public ownership would doubtless mean higher wages and shorter hours of employment, but this again would mean an increased number of servants, adding materially to the cost of maintenance and operation. Upon this point it is often remarked that enormous salaries are paid to railway presidents and other officials, and that outlays of this sort would be stopped because no similar scale of compensation would be paid to government officials performing like duties. This argument, however, is rather specious and is used mainly by those who have made no calculation to see how small a figure it cuts in dollars and cents. Without having made the computation, I venture to say that if all railway salaries above $5,000 a year were discontinued the saving would not be appreciable in the price of a railway ticket or the cost of moving a hundred pounds of freight.

With reference to future construction and the extension of railway lines a word may be properly said. That there have

been many instances of needless duplication of railway lines, actually or nearly parallel, is perfectly well known; but government ownership would not correct mistakes that have already been made in that regard. The roads would remain where they were built and their continued operation would practically be necessary. In constructing additional roads a more rational plan might be followed and a repetition of past follies avoided. But here again we run against political objections. On the one hand is the danger that too great conservatism would prevail, with the consequent failure to supply extensive and developing sections of the country with needed facilities. On the other hand is the danger that there would be an over-production, having reference both to cost and to public requirements. More than this, the building up of important lines, or their extension in certain sections, might become a political issue. We cannot be sure that the development of our railway systems by the government would be guided by needful wisdom and fairly balanced as between the demands of localities and justice to the tax-paying public. On the whole, we may conclude that the distribution of our railway mileage, both with reference to territory and population, has been fully as rapid, judicious and satisfactory as would have been the case if the government had constructed the roads and determined from the first, their number, character and location.

And in this connection I suggest a phase of the subject which has not apparently received much attention. It is not enough that open rates are published and rigidly observed. That of course insures equality of treatment as between individuals in like situation, a result that would certainly be secured by public operation of the roads. But there is another aspect of the rate question which presents far greater difficulty and which is wholly independent of railway ownership. The fair adjustment of rates as between different communities and different articles of traffic is a matter of the highest consequence, because upon that adjustment

depends the most commanding commercial interests. If the state owned the roads all secret discriminations would disappear, but then as now the question would arise, for instance, how rates on wheat should compare with rates on flour; how rates on dressed beef and packing house products should compare with rates on live animals; how rates on grain and grain products, produced in the great Middle West, to north Atlantic cities should compare with rates on the same articles to ports on the Gulf of Mexico. These and an endless variety of similar questions would demand solution under government ownership precisely as they demand solution at the present time under private ownership. And the danger is that those questions would become political issues to be settled by the action of the majority party. I can see how railway officials and employees, all being government servants, might be kept out of politics, or at least prevented from exercising any undue or improper influence upon policies and elections. I can see how a trained and efficient force might be equal to the complicated task of management and operation. I can see how the financial difficulties could be overcome and rates so adjusted to needed revenue as to save the people from any indirect taxation for railway support, and at the same time give them extremely cheap transportation. But I have grave apprehension along the line now suggested. More and more as modern industrial methods are applied and perfected, as business is conducted upon an enlarging scale with a narrowing margin of profit upon each unit of production, more and more will the question of relative rates become controlling. Shall coal be taken to Chicago from Indiana or from West Virginia? Shall iron and steel products be manufactured in Pittsburg or in Cleveland? Shall export traffic leave the country by way of New York or New Orleans? Shall wheat be made into flour at Minneapolis or Buffalo? Shall certain localities be supplied with oranges from California or from Florida? Shall sugar be made from beets grown north of the Ohio and

Potomac rivers, or from cane in Louisiana or Hawaii, or Cuba and Porto Rico? Will the Pacific Coast jobbers who are reaching out for the trade of the Orient get their supplies from the Mississippi Valley or from the Atlantic seaboard? Will those supplies be carried by rail or by water? These and a thousand similar questions will be largely answered by the rates fixed for carrying the traffic. If the government owns the roads and operates them, Congress may fix the price of transportation as it now fixes the price of postage or the internal revenue tax on any article; and it is conceivable that, as the result of an election or in the redemption of party pledges, a system of rates might be adopted which would enormously benefit one or more sections of the country whose representatives combine to that end, while placing other sections at serious disadvantage. In this direction I see the greatest difficulty, and it is on this ground, more than any other, that I should regret to see the government take up the business of owning and operating our railway lines.

There is another and distinctly economic phase of the subject from which arguments may be drawn both for and against the nationalization of railways. Indeed, it leads to the most interesting reflections because of its wide significance and permanent character. On the one side it is said that to withdraw this immense industry from private enterprise, and make our transportation a government monopoly, would seriously restrict the field of private activity and in a way leave insufficient scope for individual effort and achievement. It is opportunity that furnishes inducement to action, because of the rewards that may be secured; and where opportunity is lacking there is corresponding temptation to idleness and ease. When we consider how many men win wealth and prominence in connection with the building and operation of railroads, or through their relation to reorganizations and consolidations, we can see that there is an element of disadvantage to the ambitious, not to be

lightly regarded, in taking so great an industry from the field of private performance. What the actual effect would be we can only conjecture.

Against this, however, two things may be said. First, as a practical matter, we may believe that ample opportunities for success would be found in other directions. Our territory is so great, its resources so varied and exhaustless, there are so many new things to be done, so many prizes to be won in other spheres of activity, that the withdrawal of all railway operations from the field of private enterprise would not seriously handicap the determined and capable. Indeed, as incidental to this point of view, it may be remarked that the stability and certainty of transportation charges under government ownership would give a freedom to individual effort which very many under present conditions do not enjoy. If the facilities of rail conveyance were available to all persons on like terms, so that the burden of transportation rested with equal weight upon competing producers and dealers, there would be a liberty of private action which often does not now exist, for the like enjoyment by all of this public service would remove the bonds by which many an industry is to-day hampered and many an occupation deprived of its rightful privileges.

But there is a further and more important consequence to be taken into account. We are constantly reminded of the gross inequality in the distribution of wealth, and see in the facts of every-day life much cause for dissatisfaction in this regard. We feel tolerably sure that a more equable division of property would be a great social and economic benefit. If this be desirable, as I think it is, how can it be brought about except by withdrawing from private enterprise those activities of a public nature whereby great private fortunes are and have been acquired. There is no honest way of getting rich in connection with an industry conducted by the public. If the railroads were acquired by the state and conducted as a government monopoly the opportunity for money

making in that field would of course disappear. Granted that this might work in some cases against individual success, yet on the whole might it not prove a needful corrective of present tendencies, and thus indirectly but certainly lead to a better because more even distribution of the nation's wealth?

Consider, for example, what has occurred within the last few years in the street railway service of cities. The recent substitution of electricity for animal power furnished an opportunity which a few foresaw, and they have been greatly enriched by exploiting a public franchise. That the public has had the benefit of much better service without increased cost is beside the present question. The point is that had those franchises not been granted, had they remained the possession of the public, the great fortunes made in street railroading would have been impossible. It may be better as it is; the municipal ownership of street railroads might not have been a financial success or a public blessing, but a small group of persons would not have been able to accumulate unusual wealth. If, in the long run, it makes for the general welfare to prevent the quick and easy making of private fortunes in connection with a public service, what other course remains except to emancipate all forms of public service from the domain of private enterprise.

If we test the utility of public ownership by the experience of other countries we find little that is convincing either one way or the other. On the whole the tendency is strongly in that direction. And this tendency, it is interesting to observe, is quite independent of the form of government. For instance, there is Germany, which the ordinary person regards as the nearest to a monarchy of any great modern state, which already owns and operates a large portion of its railways and is apparently aiming to still further extend its railway operations; and right alongside of Germany is little Switzerland, which we picture to ourselves as about the most democratic of modern governments, which has recently

acquired all the railways within her territory and is to conduct them as a government service. The step was taken only after long deliberation and under a proceeding which reflected the unquestioned preference of the Swiss people.

From such countries as Australia and New South Wales conflicting accounts are received, varying largely, it would seem, from the point of view and preconceived notions of the observer. Within the last few months I have had occasion to meet men from both those countries who are thoroughly well informed, not only as to the operation of their railroads but as to the sentiment of their people, and I was assured that the idea of discontinuing public ownership and allowing the railroads to pass into private hands would find no support in public opinion or be regarded as among future possibilities. It is true, the conditions existing in other lands are quite different from those encountered here. This is so not only as to the character of the population and industries, but also by reason of the traditional sentiment and attitude of the people towards their governments. In England, as is well known, the geographic and other conditions are quite unlike those existing here. More than that, there has been in England from the beginning a more rigorous control of railways than in this country, while various causes have brought about to a great extent a division of territory between different railway systems, so that competitive forces have been kept under efficient restraint. The discriminating practices which are here so prevalent and alarming are there virtually unknown.

It is a great question, one upon which the last word has not by any means been said. That it will be more and more discussed I am very certain. That it will become an early political issue I do not expect and assuredly do not desire. But as was remarked at the outset, no one can tell how soon it may be forced to the front and absorb the attention of the country beyond all other matters of public concern.

One thing an aroused and dominant sentiment will surely demand, and that is the doing away with those vicious discriminations which have characterized and often disgraced our railway operations. Such offences against right and justice will not always be tolerated. If consolidations and unified management bring open and reasonable rates, if more intelligent and adequate laws aid the elimination of abuses and give success to the work of public regulation, the agitation for state ownership will not for a long time make perceptible headway. That is the outcome which seems plainly the most desirable. If it can be secured through associated action and efficient supervision, the public will be satisfied to leave the railways in private hands; but if abuses continue and chronic evils prove incurable by methods we much prefer to use, then there will be no alternative except to acquire and operate the railways as a government function. If regulation fails public ownership will be the next and early resort.

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ADVISORY COUNCILS IN RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION.

The bill pending before Congress, to establish a department of commerce and industry under the direction of a secretary who shall have a place in the cabinet, and the probability of this bill being enacted into law, have suggested this paper on advisory councils in railway administration. Whatever else the new department may or may not include, it is hardly conceivable that it will be permanently organized without having assigned to it some functions with respect to railways. As a cabinet officer, the new secretary will be impelled to take and to maintain a national point of view, taking into consideration all the important factors necessary to make the railways of the United States valuable properties as well as the most useful public servants.

It has been truly said that the world was born again with the introduction of railways. Many changes in industrial, commercial, social and political relations followed, and have continued to come, so that every succeeding day brings us a new world with its changed relations, calling for continual readjustment to these new conditions. In this process of readjustment there takes place a conflict of diverse and antagonistic interests, the weaker or less important yielding to the stronger or more important. The assertion that the interests of the railways and of the public are harmonious and identical cannot prevent conflicts, for neither the entire public nor every railway manager will view the situation in this light. There certainly exist elements of harmony in the interests represented by the railways on the one hand and by the public on the other. For instance, a railway company extends its system into new and remote territory, thereby increasing the value of the lands and other property

in that territory. A new source of supply has been tapped and the traffic of the road is proportionately increased. With the increase in traffic and the rise in value of other property in that territory the railway property becomes more valuable, and thus increases the sources of public revenue. Up to this point there exists harmony; but the possibilities of a conflict of interests must not be overlooked. The railway property having become very valuable, the authorities of the state may assess this property to a degree which the railway authorities regard excessive; or the railway company may levy a transportation charge which the public considers excessive, or it may give preferences to one industry or place or productive area over another industry, place or area.

This lack of harmony between the two great parties may be due to a lack of mutual appreciation of each other's rights and privileges; it may be due to ignorance, to unscrupulousness, to intrinsically irreconcilable points of view, to extraneous factors over which neither can exercise control, or to numerous other contingencies. Whatever the cause, the possibility of a conflict usually exists in those elements of railway transportation which are not embraced in that part of the business representing purely harmonious and identical interests. This paper will be devoted to suggestions for arriving at a better understanding of questions in dispute and for facilitating the exchange of views and conciliation of interests on the part of all the factors involved in railway problems.

Before entering upon a discussion of these suggessions, three propositions will be stated, which the writer regards incontrovertible, but which he shall not discuss in this connection, although he is prepared to support them with ample evidence and without fear of successful contradiction. These propositions are:

1. That the present situation with respect to railway affairs in the United States is untenable and indefensible.

2. That the great majority of the railway managers and

other railway officials are sincerely desirous of administering, to the best of their abilities, the properties under their control in the most efficient manner, having due regard for the interests of both the stockholders and the public; but that all the various interests affected by their action are not represented in proportion to their importance, if at all; and that consequently injustice may be done.

3. That there is nothing in the present statutory and administrative regulation of railways to prevent the arbitrary and harmful action of the weak or unscrupulous manager from defeating the desires of the majority of the officials who would voluntarily pursue a more beneficent course.

In the Annual Report for 1898, the Interstate Commerce Commission said: "The situation has become intolerable, both from the standpoint of the public and the carriers. Tariffs are disregarded, discriminations constantly occur, the price at which transportation can be obtained is fluctuating and uncertain. Railroad managers are distrustful of each other and shippers all the while in doubt as to the rates secured by their competitors. . . . Enormous sums are spent in purchasing business and secret rates accorded far below the standard published charges. The general public gets little benefit from the reductions, for concessions are mainly confined to the heavier shippers." That the situation here described is as oppressive to the railways as it is odious to shippers no one will doubt. In view of this prevailing demoralization, the Commission called conferences with railway presidents during the following year which appear to have accomplished considerable good. At a time when published tariffs constitute little more than "a basis from which to calculate concessions and discriminations" anything which is likely to assist in re-establishing order must be approved.

The Commission chose a plan which is of wider application and which is of importance in its bearing upon the subject of advisory councils; for what were these

conferences but modifications of the advisory council system? In extending invitations to officials, neither existing nor former railway associations were taken into consideration. "The selection in each case was made with reference to the territory in which different connecting and competing lines operate, and the rate conditions in that territory, and not with reference to the relations of the carriers through organized associations or otherwise." Nor were attempts made to carry out a system of individual conferences; not only because this would consume much more time, but also and chiefly because "each road in promising to observe its own tariffs, and intending in good faith to keep that promise, needs the assurance that its competitors will also in good faith observe their tariffs." Mutual and concurrent promises, says the Commission, are necessary to secure conformity to the Act to regulate commerce. This is but another way of expressing a part of the third proposition formulated above. As for practical results, "the Commission believes that the propriety of holding these conferences has been fully vindicated by the results which have followed." Editorials in the *Financial Chronicle* and other leading journals comment favorably on the probable influence of these conferences.

The conferences between the Interstate Commerce Commission and railway officials represent efforts aiming primarily towards a better understanding among different railways, leaving the equally important and larger question of the relation of the railways to the great diversity of interests in their respective territories essentially without adequate expression, even if these conferences were to be made a permanent feature in railway administration. Conferences representing *all* the varied interests affected by railways, which means practically the whole population, must be provided for before a complete exchange of opinions and mutual understandings can be secured. The railways have by no means been entirely neglectful of this important work. Special agents

have been sent out by them to make a careful study of the industrial and social conditions of the territory through which their respective roads pass, and to "explain the attitude of the railways and to learn conditions." In *Harper's Magazine* for February, 1901, mention was made of a general freight agent who has associated with him 100 assistants who instruct and educate the people in the knowledge that makes for the prosperity of the railways and of the agricultural and industrial classes. Railways have studied soils and given instruction to farmers in stock and grain raising, dairying, gardening, market conditions, and business methods. They have maintained a large specialized class of employees to assist in developing the resources of the territory through which they run, and have in this manner increased appreciably the variety, quantity and quality of the commodities shipped out of the respective states. Railways have employed industrial commissioners, land inspectors, horticultural agents, superintendents of dairies and a host of similar officers whose functions are chiefly, if not solely, economic and social, and whose existence is in itself ample evidence of the necessity of providing some means by which the social and economic interests of the country can be brought into close and harmonious relations with the railways.

On the other hand, chambers of commerce, boards of trade, business men's associations, agricultural societies and analogous organizations have maintained departments, bureaus, secretaries, or standing committees on transportation, with the view of guarding and promoting the interests of their respective clienteles, in so far as these may be affected by railway transportation. Delegates and committees have held conferences with railway managers and other railway officials. Resolutions have been passed and laws proposed looking toward a change in the existing relations between the railways and these people. But such efforts have usually been one-sided, emanating either from the rail-

ways or from the shipping public, acting independently of one another, with perhaps little accurate knowledge of each other's points of view. There exists no regularlyconstituted middle ground on which the two parties can meet and deliberate, on the basis of authentic facts, and arrive at conclusions just and satisfactory to both and in accordance with the needs of the whole population, viewed in the broadest possible light.

Having seen that both the railways and the public have been feeling for each other, but that an uncovered suture still remains between them, the writer ventures to suggest a plan which may at least serve as a point of departure for the discussion of the wide and momentous questions involved, and possibly the plan may embody elements capable of elaboration into permanent arrangements. It should be understood, however, and this the writer desires expressly to emphasize, that his plan is suggestive only, that it is not given with dogmatic assertions as to its practicability, nor with the inference that it is complete and perpetual. Many conferences will have to be held, numerous hearings given, much deliberation engaged in, and a multitude of facts considered before a final working plan can be adopted. The interests involved are so enormous, and the possibilities of a conflict so great, that nothing but a large, tolerant and analytically accurate view can meet the situation.

The leading features of the plan here suggested are the following: The establishment by law of a system of state and interstate councils, having advisory power only, and representing all the various interests of the entire population as far as practicable. State councils might be organized in connection with state railway commissions, where these exist, or independently in those states which have no commissions. The size of state councils might vary with railway mileage, and the number and importance of the existing commercial and agricultural organizations. Both the elective and the appointive principles might be applied, the former

to insure representation and the latter to secure expert knowledge and specialized efficiency. The proportion of appointive to elective members might be made to vary whenever adequate reasons for such variation are properly presented to the secretary of commerce or other higher official, although at least three-fourths of the aggregate membership should perhaps be made elective. The governors of the respective states naturally suggest themselves as proper officers to exercise the appointing power with respect to state councils, and the President of the United States, through the secretary of commerce, for interstate councils. The elective members should represent, in addition to persons representing the railways, all the various state organizations which meet prescribed requirements existing within that state, and which have primarily intrastate significance. Among these societies may be mentioned boards of trade, chambers of commerce, exchanges, business men's associations, associations of lumbermen, grocers, butchers, foundrymen, all the various manufacturers, dairymen, fruit growers, agricultural societies, etc. The members to be appointed by the governor might be selected partly with the view of equalizing the representation of different interests. No paid officials would be necessary, with the possible exception of a permanent secretary, who could be attached to the office of the railway commission or some other high administrative officer. It would not even be necessary to pay the expenses of the council out of the public treasury, for a small tax on the organizations represented, which their interests could doubtless well afford to pay, would be sufficient to defray the expenses of the representative. Certainly no salaries or per diem rates ought to be paid out of public funds during the formative period of the councils. If future development should demonstrate the desirability of payment to members the law could be modified to meet the situation. Periodical meetings should be provided for, perhaps quarterly, and the interval of time between the meeting of state and interstate

councils should be sufficiently long to enable the latter to review thoroughly the proceedings and recommendations of the former. All meetings should be public and the proceedings printed.

The territorial basis of interstate councils is not so easily defined, because of the different things which may be regarded as fundamental in such a division of the area of the United States. The Interstate Commerce Commission has adhered to its original classification of railways into ten groups, based upon topographical considerations, density of population, nature of industrial life and competitive conditions, although, in regard to the last, the Commission expressed itself as unable to discover system in railway competition at the time the classification was made. To organize one interstate council for each of these ten groups would make the higher councils too numerous, and, under present conditions, it would hardly bring together representatives of those roads which belong together from the point of view of ownership and of rivalry in the same productive areas. A second possibility, is the organization of an interstate council for each of the systems of railways, among which a community of interests has been established. But this, too, would involve ten or a dozen councils and an administrative separation of railways which belong together. The third, and what appears to be the most feasible plan, is that of accepting the present territorial limits of the dominating freight classifications and organize an interstate council within each of them, with the possible division of the territory west of the Mississippi. This would make three interstate councils; one north of the Ohio and Potomac rivers and east of the Mississippi; the second south of the Ohio and Potomac rivers and east of the Mississippi; and the third for the territory west of the Mississippi. The distribution and election or appointment of members should be governed by the same principles as those which have been suggested for state councils. Each of the great railway systems should have

representatives, perhaps on a mileage basis. The great national associations, such as the millers', builders', druggists', grocers', liquor dealers', etc., might be requested to send a representative to some one of the three interstate councils; and, finally, the state councils lying within any one of these interstate divisions should elect representatives to membership in the higher council. In case a state lies partly in one and partly in another interstate district, the secretary of commerce or other officer might designate the proportion of representation to be allotted to each part, in accordance with law. The proceedings should also be public and published by the government. The Interstate Commerce Commission, every member of which should be made *ex officio* a member of the interstate councils, might supervise the publication of proceedings.

The aim of the suggested plan is obvious: to represent all the varied interests of our population *in an advisory capacity*, in the conduct of our railways. These councils are to be clearing houses of information through which the railways and the public will learn to know each other's interests better, and through which the material interests of both of these great parties will be built up in accordance with principles of justice and equity. Every attempt to interfere in the purely business management of a railway should be resisted; but every attempt on the part of a railway to disregard the just rights of the public should likewise be promptly checked and thoroughly ventilated in the councils. The authenticated facts which such councils can bring together and the publicity which is to be given them cannot help but exert a powerful influence in educating the public in railway affairs and enlighten the railways on the interests of the public. By giving councils only advisory powers, the legal responsibility still remains where it belongs—in the hands of the railway officials. The advice and recommendations of councils need not be followed, but at the next meeting of the council the manager in question can be called

upon to give the reasons for his action; and with well-informed representatives about him, nothing but the truth can prevail. In this lies one of the greatest benefits to be derived from such a scheme, and it is difficult to conceive of a more potent factor in protecting the railways against each other, and in visiting obloquy upon the one weak or unscrupulous manager who persists in defeating the best plans of the one hundred who would adhere to principles of justice without legal compulsion.

The secretary of commerce has been mentioned in several connections, assuming that such a new cabinet office is to be created. It is to be hoped that such will be the case, and the proposed system of railway advisory councils be given a place in this new cabinet office. Should, however, Congress not see fit to establish a department of commerce the suggested councils could nevertheless be fitted into the present order of things by making the Interstate Commerce Commission the head of the advisory system. The Commission, being hard worked already, could perhaps exercise only directive and supervisory powers over the councils, but some officer in the offices of the Commission, or to be added to the Commission, could be intrusted with the detailed management of the council system. *The council system, as proposed, fits into the present order of things. There is nothing radical or disorganizing about it. It simply aims to bring together into one harmonious system the various isolated, independent efforts which have long been made by many railways in the United States and by private organizations. It aims to do systematically and well what is now attempted without system, in a manner more or less one-sided.*

Institutional history is largely the history of transplanted custom and law. The most fundamental institutions of American civilization find their origin in the remote history of European peoples, and scores of existing statutes, state and federal, are mere adaptations of foreign law to conditions in the United States. The suggested plan for railway coun-

cils is in harmony with this feature of our civic development. Advisory councils have been in successful operation in various countries, and any one who will take the trouble to look into their history will probably be convinced of their efficiency and beneficence. While most contemporary systems of councils exist in connection with state railways, *the advisory system finds its origin in private initiative.* About the time our granger agitation had reached its zenith, and when the Hamlet of the play had made his appearance in the form of the Potter law of Wisconsin, the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Mülhausen arranged for a conference between its representatives and representatives of a railway upon which that city was largely dependent. The result of the conference was so encouraging that it attracted the attention of a high state official, who immediately recognized the intrinsic merits of the plan and took action with the view of embodying its principles in a permanent institution. "This arrangement," says the minister in a circular letter, "primarily strives to establish intimate connection between the places intrusted with the administration of the railways and the trading classes. It will keep the representatives of the railways better informed as to the changing needs of trade and industry and maintain a continued understanding between them; and, on the other hand, it will impart to commerce, etc., a greater insight into the peculiarities of the railway business and the legitimate demands of the administration and consequently, by means of earnest and moderate action, it will react beneficially upon both sides through an exchange of views." It was only a few years later, 1882, when Prussia established her system of advisory councils, which twenty years of experience has demonstrated to be most excellent. There are circuit councils and a national council, the former constituting advisory bodies of the different railway directories in whose hands legal responsibility rests, and the latter being advisory to the minister of public works, who is the highest legally respon-

sible railway officer. The circuit councils are more local in their nature and vary in size from about twenty-five to three times that number. Membership is chiefly elective. The national council is composed of forty members, of whom ten are appointed by the minister of public works and thirty elected by the circuit councils. The councils may be called upon to deliver opinions on questions submitted to them by the proper officials, and they may, in turn, institute inquiries and make recommendations on their own motion. They have no legal power over the administration of railways, except in this advisory capacity, and full freedom is granted to railway officials to act as they deem best in the management of railway properties.

Japan was the next country to establish an advisory council by law. The Japanese council is composed of not more than twenty persons, representing the cabinet departments, both houses of parliament and, for special purposes, members with limited tenure, who serve as experts in the council. The powers of the council relate to questions of location, construction, financiering and operation. While the department of communication and other branches of the government may direct inquiries to the council, the latter may also act on its own initiative and bring its conclusions and findings before the proper officials. A comparison of Japanese with Prussian councils shows important differences in their composition. Under the Prussian law bureaucracy is guarded against by the exclusion from the council of all immediate state officials. In Japan the law specifically provides for the inclusion in the council of cabinet officers and members of the legislature. Under the Japanese system it is possible to pack the advisory council with persons in harmony with the government, which *may* destroy the value of the council. While avenues of communication between legislatures and advisory councils should be kept open, the law should make it impossible for members of the legislature and state officers to hold a seat in an advisory council. State

legislatures and congress may wish to act on the findings of fact or recommendations of advisory councils, and if the membership of councils and legislatures can be made essentially one, the advisory nature of the councils will be annihilated. The exclusion of public officers and legislators from councils should be insisted upon.

In Switzerland, circuit councils and an administrative council were instituted by the federal law of 1897. Circuit councils embrace from fifteen to twenty members, of whom the Bundesrath elects four and the cantons eleven to sixteen. The higher or administrative council numbers fifty-five, of whom twenty-five are elected by the Bundesrath, an equal number by the cantons, and the remaining five by the circuit councils. The law expressly provides that in these elections agriculture, trade and industry shall be properly represented.

These three—Prussia, Japan and Switzerland—are the only countries in which advisory councils have been created by law. In a large number of other countries similar councils have been established through administrative agents, the composition and functions of the councils following the principles of the Prussian system. For a quarter of a century France has had a consulting committee of forty-five which is quite similar to the Japanese council in that its members are not elected but appointed chiefly from officials and members of the legislature, and that social and economic interests are represented only to a limited extent. The functions of this committee relate to approval of rates, construction of laws and ordinances, granting charters, railway agreements, stations, train-service, etc. It is similar to the advisory councils of the other three countries in that it may be called upon for opinions and undertake investigations on its own initiative. In Russia, the minister of trade appoints representatives of the agricultural and industrial classes ; the railway companies elect their members subject to the approval of the minister; and the Czar appoints representatives of the

departments of the cabinet. The Italian tariff council consists of higher ministerial officials and railway directors, while the supreme council is composed of general inspectors and chiefs of divisions, divided into three groups, each of which can act only on matters relating to the lines of interest represented by that group. Bavaria has an advisory council composed of twenty-five members appointed by the king. A number of the members are nominated by industrial organizations. Of the eighteen members in the council of Saxony, six are elected by chambers of commerce, five by agricultural societies, and seven are appointed by the minister of finance.

More than half a dozen other European states can be added to the list but it is unnecessary. Enough has been said to show that the system of advisory councils proposed for the United States is not a leap into the dark. It is a practical scheme, elaborated in various countries by practical men, and it has stood the test of experience. It involves no destruction of existing arrangements. It requires none but nominal appropriations out of the public treasury. It necessites no important new machinery. In fact, it is but a bringing together of separated wheels and shafts and placing them in proper connection with one another so as to constitute an efficient machine for public service.

That the public frequently feels suspicious concerning railways no one will question. That this suspicion is sometimes well founded is beyond controversy; and that this same suspicion on the part of the public is often out of all proportion to the cause is equally true. By way of illustration, a personal incident may be alluded to. Several years ago, through the courtesy of a railway president, the writer came into possession, for private use, of the proceedings of a railway committee, which are extremely private in their nature. He had wondered many times what such a committee might be doing; and, because of the secrecy surrounding its proceedings, was inclined to believe that action contrary to public

interests was sometimes agreed upon. After a careful examination of the entire set of documents, he is prepared to state that he firmly believes that the publication of every page of these proceedings could bring nothing but good, or at least no harm, to the railways concerned. Throughout the reading of the many resolutions, orders, petitions and decisions one is impressed again and again with the earnest desire on the part of the railway men concerned to find the correct solution and to pursue a just line of action. But the public is much like the boy with a balloon—it wants to know what there is inside. The public factor in railway enterprise is so large compared with the private factor, that the public is fairly entitled to know, within reasonable limits, what is inside. And this the railways have recognized in many ways, for it is a familiar fact that no stock can sell well and maintain its level on the exchange unless the promoters take the public into their confidence to the extent of issuing full and accurate financial statements. The chairman of one of the great classification committees struck the core of the question when he said that the general public might without detriment to railway interests know everything his committee was doing and that public opinion would uphold their action, but that perhaps not enough was at present given to the public. A system of advisory councils makes it easy for both railways and people to acquaint each other with their doings, and the resulting knowledge will add as much to harmony between them as it will increase the value of the services performed by the railways.

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THE CONCENTRATION OF RAILWAY CONTROL.

Not only in America but wherever the adoption of the system of private ownership has afforded opportunity for the action of similar economic forces, a single tendency has invariably dominated the history of railway development. The industrial conditions of the years that witnessed the construction of the earlier steam railways warranted only short and cheaply constructed lines and the limited financial resources of that period would have been inadequate for the creation of more extensive systems. As industry developed and growing accumulations of capital permitted the utilization on a larger scale of the indirect and less laborious methods of production involving enhanced dependence upon transportation, the numerous short and separate lines were extended until connections among them became more numerous. Then it became evident that their independence constituted a material limitation of their efficiency. Although this truth is more readily recognized when the statement is applied solely to the special conditions that characterized the earliest period of American railway history, a rigid scrutiny of the industrial relations of any period will afford ample proof of the fact that at no time has the American railway system been sufficiently homogeneous in its organization to render the most efficient service possible.

The existence of many independent corporate units each exercising control over a portion of a system, has at all times produced friction that has impaired efficiency. Under these conditions the pressure of industrial requirements has steadily worked toward the correction of the difficulties growing out of the separate and independent control of railway facilities, and has established the continuous tendency toward the concentration of control that is the dominating factor in railway history. If industrial conditions had remained stationary for any considerable length of time, it is

probable that the process of concentrating railway control would, not long after the beginning of the stationary period, have caught up with the necessities of industry in general and it would now be possible to point to a time at which the degree of railway homogeneity was sufficient to permit the highest possible efficiency of the facilities then in existence. But industrial association in the United States has continually increased in complexity, capital has been accumulated with progressively increasing rapidity, indirect methods of production have been called upon to supply a constantly multiplying proportion of the complex of commodities necessary for subsistence, and under these conditions separate control of different portions of the American railway system has always constituted a barrier to its highest utilization.

The present inquiry has nothing to do with the legal history of railway corporations, except as the degree of facility with which the operations among them essential to the inauguration of common control could, from time to time and in different jurisdictions, be accomplished, may have influenced the rate of progress of the purely economic movement. The consolidation of the previously separate control of different portions of the railway system may or may not be accompanied by the consolidation of the owning corporations. It has often been accomplished without the surrender of any of the outward and formal incidents of legal corporate independence, and there may be any degree of such surrender, from the slightest to the actual merger of one or more corporations into one previously existing or specially created to serve the purposes of the consolidation. After suggesting the various conditions from which centralized control of formerly separate railway properties results, it will be desirable briefly to explain the changes in legal status that usually accompany them.

The unions of connecting lines constitute the earliest type of railway consolidations. Most of the great trunk

lines now in existence were built up by such consolidations, only a very few of them having been originally planned and constructed for the extensive services to the performance of which they have now attained. The difficulties of separate control are not, however, by any means restricted to connecting lines. Before the history of American railways had covered a score of years the existence of rival lines connecting the same regions, and offering to perform the same services, had proved to be a source of industrial friction. The absence of any effectively established minimum limit to charges for particular railway services, and the fact that even closely parallel lines touch each other at relatively few points, render competitive bidding for that portion of railway traffic for which two or more routes are available destructive alike to railway revenues and to industrial stability. Such competition is the cause of unjust discrimination and of arbitrary exactions from local or non-competitive traffic, fatal not only to the development of the communities unfavorably located, but also to the symmetrical growth of industry in general. To avoid evils of this character many consolidations of a second type, illustrated by that of the New York Central and the West Shore, have been effected, in order to unite the control of lines substantially parallel.

Difficulties of the same kind as those which have impelled the consolidation of the so-called parallel lines have also led to unions among railways connecting common markets with different sources of supply of the same or competing commodities. This third type belongs to a later period, and has been effected usually by legal methods that render the application of the term "consolidation" to the results less satisfactory than in connection with the earlier types. Recent operations among certain of the anthracite carrying railways are illustrative of this latest phase of the tendency under discussion.

These earlier consolidations were made by merging one

franchise in that of a corporation owning one of the properties consolidated or by creating a new company. In other instances the control of separate lines has been combined by the purchase of a majority of the voting securities of one corporation by another or by leases for long terms of years or in perpetuity. In such cases the purchasing or leasing corporation has sometimes been one previously controlling one of the consolidated lines and sometimes has been newly created. Another method followed extensively during the last three or four decades, and one that in no way diminishes the formal independence of the corporations exercising immediate control, is the purchase by the same individual or compact group of individuals of dominating interests in the bodies owning the facilities whose ultimate control was to be united. In most instances these compact groups have consisted of persons allied by many common business interests, syndicates specially organized to effect such control, or the clients of prominent banking houses. In comparatively rare instances the groups themselves have been given formal corporate organization. The latter method has been adopted in the case of the Northern Securities Company which is now taking over the control of the great Northern and Northern Pacific railways.

In considering the various conditions and types of physical and corporate union it has seemed convenient to make use of the words "late" and "early," but it should not be inferred that there has been a distinct succession such as those terms might suggest or that the history of railway development can be divided into sharply defined periods characterized by the different types of union described. The order suggested is regarded as logical and helpful and will be found to be roughly historical, but instances of all of the different types of consolidation could be selected from among the incidents of recent years.

Progressive railway development, continuously characterized by a tendency toward the centralization of con-

trol, and with the expression of this tendency pretty closely limited to the forms already discussed naturally led to the creation of extensive systems dominated by men of great power in the industrial and financial world. The character of the evolutionary process through which these systems had been developed prevented territorial exclusiveness, and therefore while the industrial demand for common control continued with unabated force, the time came when the conditions of railway organization met this demand with greatly increased resistance. The terms of further centralization, if it were to be effected on a scale adequate to satisfy the necessities of commerce and industry, had then to be negotiated between corporations possessed of enormous resources and by individuals determined jealously to guard their own industrial supremacy, and strenuous in their efforts to preserve unimpaired their dominating influence in the transportation world. The year 1870 may be used approximately to indicate the time when American railway development apparently reached the stage, at least in the east, at which further complete unions of important rival lines, under the conditions then in existence became substantially impracticable. The rivalries of the New York Central, Pennsylvania, Erie, and Baltimore & Ohio in the decade and a half that began with 1870 certainly contained no less of the evils that demand correction through the institution of common control than any earlier railway contests for traffic, but the personal rivalries of the Vanderbilts, Scotts, Goulds and Garretts, and the domineering dispositions of these great captains of industry made union on terms on which some of them must become subordinate wholly impracticable.

Nor have the difficulties of this kind been wholly personal. The growth of corporations in magnitude and stability has been accompanied by the multiplication of securities of different grades, the relative values of which must satisfactorily be brought to a common denominator in any scheme of cor-

porate consolidation. There has also been a diffusion of the ownership of these securities that has multiplied the difficulty of securing the general acceptance of such a denominator. Diffused ownership very greatly increases the inertia to be overcome, by adding to those who must be convinced of the desirability of the change, a large number of persons who are less thoroughly informed concerning the conditions of the industry than the smaller number formerly in control. Shortly after 1870 unfavorable economic conditions led the public of a large portion of the country into a condition of dissatisfaction with railway methods and resulted in general hostility to further consolidation. Although this sentiment found expression in many laws prohibiting consolidations, it was little if any more effective on that account, for such laws have rarely proved adequate to prevent the consummation of arrangements deemed really necessary, but it was a genuinely deterrent force, because of the proper deference of railway managers to general public sentiment.

Thus about 1870 the leaders of the railway world began an exhaustive search for some means of securing the benefits of centralized control, which could be utilized without encountering the obstacles that then began to impede actual consolidation. The direction in which such means must be sought was plainly indicated by the character of the evils which were then most strongly demanding the remedy of unified control. The demoralization in rates, which grew out of the competition of rival routes offering to perform the same services, resulted in an unstable condition of railway earnings and in many unjust discriminations among persons, places and articles of traffic. If rates could be controlled and systematized, by agreements among separate railways, the principal object of consolidation could be attained without the necessity of yielding independence in other matters. Agreements in regard to the rates to be applied to traffic for which two or more routes were available therefore became

common. It was found, however, that in practice they were frequently violated by lines which saw the possibility of diverting traffic from their rivals and thus increasing the volume of their business. In order to remove the incentive for this the device of distributing such traffic in proportions fixed by agreement was evolved, and under the popular name of "pooling" it developed so rapidly from its commencement in 1870 that when it was made illegal, in 1887, by the fifth section of the Interstate Commerce law, it was the most prominent feature of American railway administration.

The Interstate Commerce law itself may properly be regarded as a step, and that a long one, in the direction of the centralization of railway control. It is by no means an harmonious statute, and it contains elements radically opposed to each other, but its distinctive feature is the requirement that rates shall be relatively reasonable. In other respects this law did nothing more than to declare the policy of the Common Law, that rates should be absolutely reasonable and to provide rules and machinery for enforcing this and the first-named requirement. Its only novel and essential principle is the requirement of relative reasonableness, and this means essentially that all rates shall be subjected to measurement by common definite standards. Obviously this is a result that can only be accomplished through ultimate centralized control or authority to review and correct the acts of those in immediate control. The creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and its endowment with authority to order the revision of rates that it should find to be inequitably adjusted, was an important advance toward the general systematization of American railway facilities. That the enforcement of the orders of the Commission, by the legal processes provided in the law, has been less successful than Congress may have intended in 1887, and that its decrees have needed the sanction of public sentiment in order to become effective, does not at all modify the force of this conclusion.

In spite of the fact that harmonious action by the officers of so-called competing railways is a prerequisite absolutely necessary to the successful enforcement of the central principle of the Interstate Commerce law, that statute made illegal the one device that had been found by practical experiment to make such action possible. Agreements for the division of freight or freight revenue were made illegal, and thus the best substitute for actual consolidation that the ingenuity of railway administrators had been able to devise was effectually destroyed. Efforts were made by railroad officials to provide incentives to the observance of rate agreements and railway associations, although less effective than when they included pooling arrangements, were a very prominent and helpful feature of railway administration for many years after the enactment of the Interstate Commerce law. Later, however, probably to the surprise of most of the supporters of the Sherman anti-trust law the Supreme Court of the United States interpreted that statute so as to make it applicable to railways, and held that it prohibited all agreements for the maintenance of rates, even including instances in which these were both absolutely and relatively reasonable and just. One consequence of this decision was finally to compel recurrence to the more direct devices for securing centralized control that had characterized the earlier decades of railway history. Actual consolidation did not cease between 1870 and 1897, but the progress of the tendency in that direction was slower than it had been on account of the obstacles referred to and the relief afforded by the substitute just described. When resort to these substitutes was made impossible the tendency naturally began to press harder for expression in the earlier form. At about the same time very extraordinary industrial conditions at home and abroad produced unprecedented domestic prosperity, and placed in the hands of American investors an immense fund of ready capital. This greatly facilitated the financial operations connected with railway consolidations,

and was also to some extent an incentive to undertake them as a means of marketing securities.

The term "community of interest" was originally applied to a device for promoting harmonious action that must now be looked upon much as a makeshift of but temporary utility. Properly this term is used only to designate those instances in which one railway corporation becomes the owner of a block, less than a majority, of the voting securities of another and thereby obtains a voice, but not the controlling voice, in the management of the latter, or in which an individual or compact group of individuals having control of one railway becomes so interested in another. The phrase was promptly taken up by the public and the newspapers and has now come to be applied to nearly every device of common ownership short of actual consolidation. More recently still it has passed into the daily jargon of the bulls and bears of Wall street, where it has lost whatever significance it had previously retained.

The actual consolidation of railway properties has never gone on more rapidly than during the year 1901. The absorption by their former rivals of such properties as the Baltimore & Ohio, Southern Pacific and Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, would be notable if occurring singly and on widely separated dates, but all these and other great lines have passed, within a few months, into the control of formerly competing lines.

So much must be said, in discussing the causes of consolidation, of the superior services rendered after it has taken place and of the relation of separate control to unjust discrimination that the argument might so far be misconceived as to leave the impression that the writer has assumed that other than purely business motives have actuated those who have planned and executed the various steps in the process of railway unification. No such assumption is intended. Those in charge of railway facilities have perceived opportunities for personal gain to be achieved through uniting sepa-

rate properties. The incentive has been such as would appeal to the theoretical "economic man," and in few other departments of industrial activity has any process been as little impeded by extra-economic considerations. It would be grossly incorrect, however, to regard this as equivalent to the statement that consolidation has permitted higher rates or a higher proportionate return to the capital invested. Indeed it is substantially certain that the average return upon railway capital has been reduced by railway concentration below the point at which it would have remained had the tendency in that direction been arbitrarily overcome or even very materially retarded in its operation. So long as a country demands continuous additions to its railway facilities, or the progressive improvement of those in existence, and is therefore calling for new investments of capital in railway enterprises, it is quite certain that the average return to such capital must bear an acceptable relation to the average return from other investments, and that the rate that will be accepted must be dependent in a very large degree upon the amount of risk involved.

The writer believes that in the United States there has been a deceptive attractiveness in railway investments which has arisen from an almost invariably baseless hope of extraordinary returns, and that this has resulted in excessive investments in the transportation field with a consequent reduction of the average yield to capital considerably below the average of industries of actually greater stability. Land grants and local subsidies had much to do with the establishment of this condition, if it really exists, and it must also be based upon the enthusiasm of the early railway *entrepreneurs*, especially of those who after securing investments were unscrupulous enough to derive personal profits in the manipulation of the securities of the lines they had promoted. The existence of this condition is by no means fundamental to the present discussion, however interesting a side-light it may throw upon it, and

the truth or falsity of the writer's assumption in this particular would in no way modify the principle that the return to railway capital must be materially affected by the risk assumed. Capital prefers the substantial certainty of a small and definite return to the possibility of a high gain with the alternative of actual loss. In the degree that uncertainty is eliminated an industry becomes the field of investment as distinguished from adventuring. The former demands small returns, the latter large.

No extensive railway enjoys the privilege of monopoly gains. The appearance of monopoly in this industry is deceptive and untrustworthy. With the exception of travel for pleasure, which furnishes but an insignificant proportion of the total railway traffic, the services rendered by railways are to be defined as the production of a complementary commodity or one which is of no utility except in connection with some other commodity. In other words, railways take utilities of form and add to them utilities of place—the sums being utilities available to consumers. But as most utilities of form can be produced in many places while in many instances one kind may be substituted for another, the circumstances under which railways can exact arbitrary charges for their services are exceedingly rare. Under the more usual circumstances the impulse to produce the largest marketable volume results in progressive reductions in the rates of charge which, having no limitation arising from a known or discoverable cost of production of specific services are only checked by reaching a point beyond which they will not secure additional traffic, or by the ultimate realization that total revenue is below the amount necessary to pay expenses of operation and the minimum return that will be accepted by investors. The regular alternation of periods of high industrial prosperity and great activity with those of depression and closely restricted production is also a factor in the reduction of the return to the investors in railway enterprises. Rates being once adjusted

to a period of great activity, naturally accompanied by a great volume of traffic, the subsequent period of comparative stagnation is certain very materially to reduce the aggregate of the revenue which they produce. But at such times commercial conditions and public sentiment forbid any increase. With recurrent prosperity, however, further reductions are usually made and thus the process goes on indefinitely repeating itself. The absence of a cost of production limit to specific rates and the existence of the downward tendency resulting from the forces just described, cause the possible profits on the small portion of traffic on which arbitrary rates could be collected to be absorbed by reductions on the larger portion.

The consequences accruing to the owners of railway property from the concentration of railway control, are therefore greater stability in their investments and a lower rate of return upon their capital. That these results would ensue has not, of course, always been perceived in advance by those who have effected consolidations, nor is the substantial certainty that they will occur yet unanimously recognized by practical railway men. The latter have often hoped to realize high profits through the economies possible under consolidated management, and to share largely in the pecuniary results of the higher efficiency so secured. In spite, however, of these alluring anticipations it would be impossible to point to an illustration, on a significant scale, of a union of separate lines in which the consequences have not been as described. The very important gain to the public in the elimination, under unified control, of unjust discrimination, is really a part of the gain in efficiency, and is mainly to be measured by the growth of the communities after the incubus of injustice has been removed. Although this development might produce a monopoly gain were the commodities supplied by the railways capable of monopolization; this is so rarely the case that it scarcely merits separate attention. There is no indication that an

exceptional instance can be discovered in the United States. It must be recognized that the general public has followed the recent progress of railway unification, which, under the spur of legislative restraints upon other methods of securing the advantages of centralized control, has been unprecedentedly rapid, with much less discontent than was observed in connection with former movements of much smaller magnitude. Yet some inquiry is natural and desirable, and it seems proper to examine in some detail the probable consequences of the present movement toward centralization.

The plainest teaching of railway history is that consolidation means enhanced efficiency in the broadest sense. This is not only that persons and property will be moved more expeditiously and with greater comfort and safety, but that the charges for railway services will be gradually reduced, and many of the unjust disadvantages to which persons, places and kinds of traffic are subjected by discriminations in favor of traffic for which alternative routes are available will finally be removed. These desirable results will be accomplished to precisely the extent in which the present movement has brought about a degree of harmony and systematization in the railway industry that is adequate to the demands of the current general industrial organization. Discriminations that unjustly favor terminal points will be eliminated in so far as the particular route taken by specific shipments is rendered indifferent to any and all of those interested in the various routes available. If the concentration of railway control has not gone far enough to produce such indifference with regard to any traffic, it will continue to be unduly favored, and other traffic, as well as the persons and places concerned in it, will continue at an unjust disadvantage. Rates will be reduced by the operation of the forces which, as heretofore indicated, keep the return to railway capital on a competitive basis, and the fact that increased stability and decreased risk have been secured

by the diffusion of the possibilities of harm through local industrial disturbances, such as crop failures and strikes, and the protection against occasional instances of destructive inter-line warfare for traffic and the accompanying demoralization of rates and revenues.

The physical improvement of financially weaker lines, after absorption by stronger corporations, has been a marked characteristic of some recent operations, and there have also been numerous instances in which the greater liberality with which the larger companies are able to treat their employees in such matters as wages, hours of labor, and pension and insurance privileges, have after consolidation been extended so as to benefit the employees taken over with the properties on which they formerly served. On the other hand, the consolidation of lines tends to reduce the volume of employment per unit of traffic, in certain lines of railway work and it is as yet impossible to say how far this is offset by the tendency of the lower rates and generally superior efficiency to increase traffic. So far as the number and cost of employees per unit of traffic are reduced, it is evident that the general traveling and shipping public can interpose no objection. Consolidation, like any other labor-saving device, may make necessary some industrial readjustments which, while generally and in the net result beneficial, may operate to the temporary injury of a few. However distressing these readjustments, their sum cannot be so great as the total loss in comparative comfort that would inevitably result from refusal to take advantage of the appliances making them necessary.

A railway of short length, requiring relatively small capital, and subject to all of the vicissitudes of local industries, will interest local capitalists of adventurous disposition, and may attract the capital of the few men who make a business of calculating the prospects of hazardous enterprises of that character. Both classes of investors will demand chances of high returns, but will subject themselves to the possibility

of extensive and even total loss. In an extended series of such undertakings the average return, combining the successful with the unsuccessful, will be relatively high, although this presumption is subject to the qualification that the risks incurred may be generally and grossly underestimated. If, however, several such roads are combined the risks of local industrial difficulties will be distributed, and greater stability for the investments will be secured. Should combination extend so as to include two or more routes connecting the same regions, or offering to supply the same market with competitive products, another kind of risk, that of destructive rate wars, would be eliminated. As every step in the elimination of risk opens the door to the investment of capital one degree more timid than that last admitted, the result is not only to reduce the return demanded by capital, but also to diffuse ownership. Progress in this direction will not, however, bring in many small investors until it has gone far enough to establish a very high degree of stability for the investments. When this has been accomplished small investors will enter the field in large numbers and thus, as the concentration of railway control becomes genuinely effective, it tends strongly toward the diffusion of railway ownership. There is no such incentive to saving as the existence of a well-known, stable and fairly remunerative form of investment. Small local railways could not supply this demand, even if there were not always the extra hazards of local enterprises and rate-cutting, for the number of different securities would too greatly increase the difficulty of acquiring information concerning their respective values. The securities of great railway systems do supply this great economic need, and especially as more reasonable public sentiment withdraws the restraints of unwise legislation will their stability increase and win general recognition. Thus while the process of consolidation may allow those individuals of high economic perception who take the lead in it, rapidly to

accumulate large personal fortunes, which are the payment for the great services they perform in enhancing railway efficiency, it must tend eventually to the diffusion not only of railway ownership, but of wealth in general and to the consequent reduction of the differences between average wealth and the greatest fortunes, on the one hand, and the smallest possessions upon the other. How far this tendency may be offset or exceeded by those in the opposite direction extraneous to the railway industry is another matter.

The personal and financial difficulties now in the way will prevent the present movement proceeding far enough to eliminate all of the evils of independent railway control. This does not mean that economic advantage would result from the consolidation of all American railways under a single management, but merely that it will not now be possible to bring systematization abreast of purely industrial requirements. In fact, it is doubtful, when extra-economic considerations are invoked, whether it would now be desirable to force the organization of the railway system to the point of highest economic convenience. Other social institutions, principally those of a political character, do not appear to be developed sufficiently to bear the strain of adjustment. Indeed, one of the severest criticisms of such legislation as the anti-pooling clause of the Interstate Commerce law and the anti-trust law as applied to railways is that it unduly stimulates and forces the movement toward railway consolidation.

Therefore, while the progress of consolidation remains too slow to attain the point fixed as desirable by the demands of general industry, it will continue to be advisable to utilize the most satisfactory substitutes that are available or can be made so. The best of these is the railway association having power to prescribe rates and methods and to secure the enforcement of both by distributing in fixed proportions the traffic which might be the object of independent offers of rates or privileges. Such distribution almost wholly removes the incentive for seeking business by the methods that pro-

duce unjust discriminations, and interfere with symmetrical industrial development. This substitute is not now available on account of the fifth section of the Interstate Commerce law and the interpretation of the Sherman anti-trust law adopted by the United States Supreme Court. Efforts to render it available and to give legal efficacy to agreements of this character, when filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission and subject to its constant supervision, have so far been unsuccessful on account of the extreme demands of those who wish to subject the business of interstate railways to a very rigid and absolute form of federal control. Those who take this view have frequently attempted to find support for their contentions in the progress toward the concentration of railway control, but so far as their efforts have been subjected to logical scrutiny and analysis they have utterly failed. Railway rates cannot be generally excessive, all railway history proves that they cannot under any circumstances be permanently advanced,[1] and the progress of consolidation always operates to eliminate the defects in the relative adjustment of charges that constitute the real basis of nearly all friction between the railways and their patrons. If, however, it is necessary, in order to legalize methods so essential to railway efficiency as those of association for rate-making and maintenance, that federal control should be extended to details most effectually regulated by commercial forces superior to statutory law, the railways have less to lose than any one else by the introduction of such a radical departure from the best precedents of American industrial legislation. If the changes do not go so far in the direction of legislative interference in industry as to threaten the entire fabric of domestic production and commerce, thus making it incumbent upon those first directly affected to bear the brunt of the struggle necessary to repel an attack of general scope,

[1] The existence of the same distinction between real and nominal rates as between real and nominal wages should be noted, although it does not materially affect the accuracy of this statement.

the railways can well afford to withhold their own opposition.

Few students of industrial history will accede to the proposition that it is safer to trust to the action of a board endowed with authority to compel the rate adjustments which it approves than to the natural processes of adjustment to commercial demands, reinforced in exceptional instances by the investigations and suggestions of competent public authorities, with ample provision for securing complete publicity as a means of invoking sound public sentiment in aid of the just recommendations of these authorities. This is especially the case when it is recognized that to clothe a board with power to enforce its orders, or to secure their enforcement by judicial processes is to deprive its most correct and reasonable conclusions of the support of general public sentiment. When the general public depends confidently upon laws of an arbitrary character it is not sufficiently watchful to permit that general publicity which must be the basis of effective public sentiment.

There are personal and financial obstacles that always impede the movement toward railway consolidation. These, at the present time, seem likely to prevent the immediate continuance of the movement in its recent intensity. The inquiry, how far concentration is eventually to go, is, however, a natural and pertinent one. If all limitations of time are removed, the answer is that industrial necessity will sometime weld all American railways into a single system. At present, however, the tendency is to divide the country into districts, and it is probable that the lines within each of these already clearly defined districts will be united before consolidation of lines belonging to two or more of them are effected. The districts are four in number. One is east of the Mississippi and north of the Potomac and Ohio; a second south of the two rivers last named and east of the Mississppi; a third includes the lines connecting the Pacific Coast with the Mississippi River, and somewhat overlaps a fourth, which embraces the so-called

southwestern lines. The union of the last two districts is not improbable. The newspaper fantasy of a line from the Atlantic to the Pacific under unified management is not likely soon to materialize. Individual operators may invest largely in roads which together might constitute such a line, but under present conditions they will carefully refrain from steps which might imply unified management, especially in traffic matters. To do otherwise would be to invoke interline jealousies of destructive force, and to awaken in fearful force the very form of rivalry that current consolidations are intended to avoid.

A broad study of American railway history, and especially of the relations between the railways and those who purchase and are dependent upon their services, with suitable regard for the modifications effected in those relations by the drawing together of the originally separate parts of the railway system, like the study of most phases of industrial development, leads to the conclusion that the tremendous natural forces of industry are always beneficent. It also shows that they are more powerful than political or legal institutions, that they are not subject to legislative control, and that they work best when least opposed. The most good voluntary social action can accomplish is to hasten the natural adjustment between the different kinds of social institutions and to take advantage of natural tendencies in industry by accepting them as inevitable and shaping social policies in accordance with them. To attempt to shackle them is to erect obstacles in the path of industrial progress which, while they cannot be made insurmountable, are very likely to retard it and to be the source of innumerable and unforeseen difficulties.

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COMMUNICATION.

THE NATIONAL COMPANY OF LIGHT RAILWAYS IN BELGIUM.

Most of the Belgian railroads have always been in the hands of the state, and as late as fifteen years ago all of them were broadgauge lines. The expenses of building and working a broadgauge railroad usually prevented the extension of the system through the less thickly populated parts of the country, with the result that the people who were most in need of cheap transportation were utterly deprived of facilities, except in a few instances where personal or political influences were brought to bear on the government, and then, the community at large was burdened with the unnecessary load of a losing venture. Private enterprise was equally slow in starting light country railroads, although it freely undertook the construction of city tramways. The reason for this was that the local country lines, except in the neighborhood of large towns, could never be expected to yield large dividends.

In 1885, a bill was brought forward for promoting a system of local light railways throughout the country districts and for connecting them with market places and with stations on the large railroads.

The bill became a statute and provided for the incorporation of a national monopoly: the *Société Nationale des Chemins de fer Vicinaux*. The statute gives a monopoly to a limited liability company whose existence is indefinite, and which can be dissolved only by act of parliament. Although not officially called a monopoly, the National Company is one to all intents and purposes, for, with the single exception of municipal tramways, it has an option for a year upon the construction of all the light railways authorized by the government. Probably, when the National Company does not avail itself of the franchise, the line will not be worth building, and nobody will undertake it. Moreover, when the government grants a franchise for a new line, the time is stated within which it must be completed, without forfeiting the privileges of the concession.

The capitalization of the National Company is unlimited, and is issued in $200 shares, the issue depending upon the amount required for building and equipping the lines of light railways which the company may open. Whenever the building of a new branch is undertaken, the company issues the necessary number of $200 shares, and these new shares form a series bearing a special number, the interest on which must be paid out of the earnings of the new line only.

The statute provides that in each case a minimum of two-thirds of these shares must be subscribed for conjointly by the state, the provinces (counties), and the municipalities connected with the particular branch. The subscription of the state shall not exceed one-half of the capital required for each line, but as a rule it has reached that figure during recent years, because the government desires to promote the extension of the system on a large scale. The provinces and municipalities interested in the branch constructed may subscribe as much of the capital as they please, provided it does not burden their financial powers beyond what may readily be met by the local taxes. The remainder of the capital, not exceeding one-third of the total amount, if there be any left unsubscribed for, may be taken by private investors.

The shares owned by the private investors are similar to those of any other business corporation and transferable at will; but the shares of the provinces and the municipalities are transferable only by special authority of the government. One special feature of the National Company is that it makes the state and the public bodies compulsory joint owners of the capital of the corporation, but limits their liability to the amount of their respective subscriptions.

The statute provides further that the shares allotted to private investors, if any, must be paid for either immediately or upon call of the directors of the company. But the state and the other administrative authorities may pay up their subscriptions as they may choose, either fully at once, or, as is generally the case, in ninety yearly instalments, calculated at 3½ per cent per annum. A special financial scheme highly beneficial to the public bodies has been resorted to in order to carry out this combination. Whenever the company receives such instalment subscriptions, it issues bonds for the corresponding amount in capital and throws them on the stock market. The bonds are 3 per cent debentures only, but they are readily taken up by investors, because the interest and the sinking fund of the bonds are guaranteed to the extent of 600,000 francs a year, by the government, under whose authority they are issued by the company. The 3 per cent bonds of the National Company rank almost as high as government securities. The interest and sinking fund of these bonds must be provided for out of the yearly instalments of the subscribing public bodies, as long as the earnings of the National Company are not able to cover them.

For the purposes of financial management and working of the light railways, each branch line or group of branch lines is considered as under a separate corporation. As long as the operating expenses exceed the earnings the National Company makes up the differ-

ence; but as soon as the line begins to pay, a dividend is allotted to the various shareholders in the following way: To the private shareholders, the directors may issue a dividend not exceeding 4 per cent per annum on the paid up capital, according to the conditions under which the shares have been subscribed for. To the public bodies the directors must allow a dividend as nearly as possible equal to the yearly instalment due from the subscribers. If a surplus still remains, it shall, after due provision has been made for the allowances to the directors and the general manager personally, be divided by giving one-fourth to the particular reserve fund of the branch corporation, three-eighths as a further dividend to the general shareholders and three-eighths to the National Company.

The National Company is a construction company only; it builds the lines of light railway and fully equips them with the necessary rolling stock, but it does not operate the roads. Each line or group of lines is leased, fully equipped, to a contractor who may be a private individual, a company or a co-operative association of interested municipalities. The terms of the lease (*cahier des charges*) provide carefully for the improvement of the train service, the rates of transportation, the repairs of the rolling stock, the proper supplying of the lines with laborers and clerical staff, and the apportionment of the net earnings between the operating company or lessee and the National Company, *i. e.*, its own shareholders. The improvements of the permanent way and the buildings, together with the supply of additional rolling stock, are paid for by the National Company. The accounts of the operating company are open to the supervision of the National Company, and security is given to it by the lessee both in cash deposits and in a preferred share of the yearly earnings of the lines. These operating contracts or leases are made for thirty years in each case, in accordance with rules laid down by the statute and by the government when they grant to the National Company the franchise for building the new line.

The plan of leasing out the operation of the lines to local investors works well. It frees the National Company from running a large number of small disconnected railways scattered all over the country, and insures a good local service, under the general supervision of the National Company, by contractors, mostly local business men, manufacturers or landowners, interested both in the financial success of the concern and the improvement of the district. The necessary capital not being large, is obtained easily by the contractors. The only capital requirements are for the running expenses of the small railroads, and the rate of interest is not limited to a fixed maximum, as in the case of shares subscribed for the building of the light railways.

The natural result of this maximum limit of 4 per cent a year on the building shares has been that only a small number of private investors have subscribed towards the capital of the National Company; their aggregate subscriptions do not quite cover 2½ per cent of the capital amount.

The Belgian state, provinces and municipalities, through the medium of the National Company, are practically the sole owners of the whole system of light railways throughout the country. Yet, they have not strained their finances in acquiring this large property, because they can pay up their shares in ninety yearly instalments of 3½ per cent per annum. At the same time the railroads are built with the money provided by the 3 per cent bonds also amortizable in ninety years. As long as the particular line in which the public bodies have invested is not worked at a profit, they go on paying in capital without compensation, but as soon as the line begins to pay, their share in its earnings is deducted from the payable annuities, and it may happen at any time before the expiration of the ninety years, that the dividend will fully cover the annuities, and that the public subscribers will be able to pay up the remainder of their subscriptions out of the earnings of the money previously paid in. Their financial position will be still further improved after ninety years, when the public shareholders have no more annuities to pay and will receive in cash their share of the dividend earned by their own lines. They may even then purchase on the stock market, at any price not exceeding the par value, the shares of private investors, willing to part with their holdings at that figure, in order to acquire exclusive control over the capital of any local branch in which they are interested.

Because of the public character of the National Company, special rules have been laid down in the statute for the constitution of its governing body.

The general manager of the company is directly appointed by the government and he holds his office during good behavior, as is the case with other civil servants. He is entitled to sit and vote in the meetings of the Board of Directors. The directors, six in number, are appointed for six years and may be re-elected, one-half by the shareholders, and the other half, including the president of the board, by the government. There is also a Board of Overseers, nine in number, appointed yearly, and re-eligible to election by the shareholders at their annual meeting, one overseer being chosen from each of the nine Belgian provinces. The members of this board are, as a rule, members of the administrative body in each province, and may be looked upon as delegates of the provinces to look after their interests in the management of the company.

The problem of control over this big monopoly has thus been solved by giving the government a strong power over the managing authorities of the National Company. At the same time a suitable representation of the shareholders, both public and private, has been provided for. The control of the government and other administrative authorities over the transportation service on each line is secured by the right of supervision of the National Company over the working of each local branch and by the enforcement of the rules laid down in the contract for the lease of every single branch to the local operating company.

By the end of the year 1900 the National Company of Light Railways had built or was engaged in the construction of 104 lines of narrow-gauge railroads covering a total distance of 2,384 kilometers,[1] 1,840 of which were already in operation. The company contemplates the building of 107 other lines representing 2,023 kilometers. Moreover, seven lines with a total length of 153 kilometers have been asked for by local communities, but the applications so far have not been entertained by the company. Should the company decide to construct these roads, its engagements would involve a total of 218 lines with a length of 4,560 kilometers. The capital required for the first 104 lines amounts to 124,109,000 francs, and has been subscribed for as follows:

State	41,810,000 francs,	or 33.7	per cent.
Provinces	34,917,000 "	28.1	"
Municipalities	44,336,000 "	35.7	"
Private investors . . .	3,046,000 "	2.5	"

The capital actually spent on the lines already built or being built and equipped with rolling stock amounts to 93,388,896 francs, *i. e.*, an average cost of 45,612 francs per kilometer.

Out of 79 lines that have been operated for at least one year, 40 yield a profit slightly higher than the 3½ per cent rate of the yearly annuities subscribed for by the public bodies; 10 yield a profit of 3 per cent; 11 bring a little more than 2½ per cent, and 6 a trifle over 2 per cent a year. The average rate of profit for the year 1900 is 3.3346 per cent of the capital subscribed. For the last ten years the average rate of profit has slowly but steadily increased: In 1890, it was 2.65 per cent; 1891, 2.75 per cent; 1892, 2.76 per cent; 1893, 2.80 per cent; 1894, 2.90 per cent; 1895, 2.98 per cent; 1896, 3.08 per cent; 1897, 3.15 per cent; 1898, 3.23 per cent; 1899, 3.30 per cent; 1900, 3.33 per cent.

By comparing the mileage of the National Company's narrow-gauge

[1] One English mile is about 1.6 kilometer, or 1,609 meters.

railroads with the mileage of trunk lines or broad-gauge railways in Belgium, it will be seen that the former is more than 50 per cent of the latter. Taking the population of Belgium at 6,744,532 inhabitants, the figure at which it stood last year, and the area of the country at 2,945,591 hectares[1] the proportion of the light railroads' mileage (2,384 kilometers) stands as follows :

For every 10,000 inhabitants, 3.53 kilometers of light railroads.
For " 10,000 hectares, 8.09 " " "

The gauge is generally one meter, except for a branch of about twenty-two kilometers, where a gauge of 1.435 meters, or about five feet, has been adopted for the sake of connecting with Dutch lines. The lines are generally worked by steam, except when they run into large cities. Electricity is used there, the electric lines now having a length of about seventy-five kilometers.

ALFRED NERINCX.

University of Louvain, Belgium.

[1] One hectare is nearly equal to 2½ acres.

ACADEMY NOTICES AND PROCEEDINGS.

1. ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING.—In accordance with the provisions of the by-laws, the annual business meeting of the Academy will be held in the hall of the College of Physicians, N. E. corner Thirteenth and Locust streets, Philadelphia, on Monday, January 20, 1902, at 4 p. m. The Annual Report of the Board of Directors will be presented, three directors elected, and such other business transacted as may properly be brought before the meeting.
2. CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES.—Proceedings of the Seventy-fifth Scientific session of the Academy, held in the New Century Drawing Room, Thursday evening, October 31, 1901. The topic of the meeting was: "The Outlook for Civil Government in the Philippines." The president announced that General Arthur Mac Arthur, who had accepted the invitation of the Academy to deliver the opening address on this subject, was unable to be present, owing to the fact that he had been called west on important public business.

Dr. George F. Becker, of the United States Geological Survey, who had been detailed for service, lasting over a year, in the Philippines with the army under command of General Mac Arthur, was introduced as the first speaker. Dr. Becker said that there is no political future for the peoples of the Philippines, at least for this or the next generation. The natives are divided into many different tribes, speak many different languages, are not able to understand each other, and in most cases the several tribes are at enmity or war with each other, They must be considered as children with respect to political liberty as understood by Americans. They must be taught to walk and not left to themselves. To train them in government is the first imperative duty that has fallen to the United States. They have many virtues, though not without serious vices, and may in time—though necessarily a long way off—attain to self-government. The work of the United States is to do what no other nation has ever done, transplant our civilization to the tropics. Dr. Becker pointed out in this connection the failure of the Dutch in the East Indies and of the British in the Straits Settlement, showing that instead of those nations teaching the natives to come up to the new standard, they had permitted them to fall even lower by introducing Chinese to do the work by which alone civilization is attained.

In the Philippines the first requisite is to keep out the politician and to cultivate the spirit of work and foster everything that will make

for economic prosperity as the basis of good government. They must be taught that one day's work per week is not enough to assure economic prosperity even if it meets their most urgent necessities. They must be encouraged by being guaranteed the fruits of patient, persistent toil, and be taught the elementary lessons of social and economic virtues in the accumulation and use of wealth.

Following Dr. Becker, Mr. José Abreu, a Filipino lawyer and a member of the Manila bar, who is sojourning in this country for the purpose of studying American law and institutions, and is employed as an expert in the War Department, spoke on the political aspects of the topic of the meeting. Mr. Abreu said in part:

"The difficulties can only be measured by the complex and numerous questions which enter as factors in the problem under discussion. Its importance can be recognized when we realize that another test is to be applied to democracy, and that the welfare of ten million people depends on the solution of the problem. . . .

"These factors are: (1) the possibility of civil government in the Philippines; (2) the manner in which this government should be administered.

"Before leaving the islands, and while General Otis was military governor, I often heard complaints from my countrymen against military rule, and noticed a strong desire for the immediate establishment of civil government, some indulging in the utopian dream that civil government should precede the establishment of peace, rather than that the establishment of peace should precede civil government. On the other hand, at the present time, now that a civil regimen prevails in those islands, with civilians having more authority than military officers, there are some who maintain that such a condition is absurd. . . . Both opinions are extreme. . . . Civil government is now practical within certain limitations, and later, when resistance to the unquestioned authority of the United States has completely disappeared, full civil government can be granted for the reason that it is a possibility wherever there coexist certain elements which can direct and others which can be readily controlled. . . . The Philippine people are easily governed. Their oriental nature inclines them to be submissive and obedient to law; they are industrious and lovers of peace and order.

"Three centuries of contact with European Christian peoples have instilled into their character certain occidental ideas and virtues which make them quite capable of understanding your principles of government. . . . It is certain that the Philippine people who promise most for the future of the Orient, and you who are now imparting to them your education, institutions and laws, will be delightfully surprised at

what will be accomplished during the next few years. It will almost refute the old saying that nations are not born in a day."

Mr. Abreu pointed out that the few sections where rebellion still was manifest were no index of the feeling of the whole people, and only showed how costly it is to overcome race prejudice and errors born of misinformation and ignorance. He dwelt upon the mistakes of Spain in making no provision for political training of the people, and cited the experience of the Taft Commission to show that there were educated Filipinos capable of directing civil government in important departments. He further argued for some form of representation of the people in the central government of the islands. "I believe that if the machinery of legislation were enlarged, granting a limited suffrage to the inhabitants of the provinces, so that they could send their representatives to the Commission (it becoming in this way a sort of a representative congress), all resentment, hostility and suspicion would disappear, this being subject of course to definite action by Congress. . . . This would accomplish three objects: (1) It would give a more popular character to the central government; (2) it would satisfy the desire of the people to have some part in legislation, which all consider as the predominant feature of self-government; (3) it would teach the people to legislate with the guidance and advice of the civil commission.

"This plan would complete the social, economic and political education of our people."

PERSONAL NOTES.

University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.—Mr. James Dickason Hoskins has been appointed Assistant Professor of History and Economics in the University of Tennessee. Mr. Hoskins was born January 31, 1870, at New Market, Jefferson County, Tennessee. He received his early education in the public and private schools, including Manry Academy of Dandridge, Tennessee. He entered the University of Tennessee in the fall of 1887, graduating in 1891 with the degree of B. S., and taking degrees M. A. (1893) and LL. B. (1897) from the same university, where he pursued post-graduate studies in the years 1891–1893. Mr. Hoskins also did graduate work at the University of Chicago in the summer semester of 1900. He was appointed Instructor in Mathematics at the University of Tennessee for the year 1891–1892 and was also Instructor, then Principal at the Knoxville Classical School from 1894–1898. He was Professor of History at the Baker-Himel School of Knoxville 1898–1899, and also Associate Principal of that School 1899–1900.

Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.—Dr. Frederick W. Moore has been advanced to the position of Full Professor of History and Economics in Vanderbilt University. A personal note concerning Dr. Moore appeared in the ANNALS for September, 1892,[1] since which time he has been elected a member of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association for the years 1899–1900. Dr. Moore has also added, in this period, to his publications, as follows:

"*The Condition of the Southern Farmer.*" Yale Review, May, 1894.

"*Representation in the National Congress from the Seceding States, 1861–1865.*" American Historical Review, January and April, 1897.

"*The Outlines of Sociology.*" (Gumplowicz) Translation. American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1899.

"*Columbus as a Typical Hero.*" Methodist Review, Nashville, September, 1900.

"*Recent Sociology.*" University Association, Chicago, 1900.

"*The Functions of a State History.*" Sewanee Review, 1901.

"*Weak Points in High School Work, as Shown by Candidates for the Freshman Class,*" and two papers on History and Geography in

[1] See ANNALS, vol. iii, p. 241, September, 1892.

the Preparatory Schools, being papers and reports presented to the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States and printed in the Proceedings of the Association in 1896, 1897 and 1899.

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.—Mr. Thomas Sewell Adams has been appointed Assistant Professor of Economics and Statistics at the University of Wisconsin, his academic work having begun in September, 1901. Mr. Adams was born December 29, 1874, at Baltimore, Md., and received his early education in the public schools of Baltimore and Washington, D. C. He entered Johns Hopkins University in 1892, graduating in 1896 with the degree of A. B., and pursued his graduate studies at the same institution, taking the degree of Ph. D. in 1899. Dr. Adams was appointed in the Census office November 15, 1899, and served until October 15, 1900, as a member of the Division of Methods and Results. From November 1, 1900, to July 31, 1901, Dr. Adams served in the insular government of Porto Rico as assistant to the treasurer of that island.

Among Dr. Adams' more important books are the following:

"*Taxation in Maryland.*" In eighteenth Series of Johns Hopkins University Studies.

"*The American Workman.*" Translation of "Levasseur's L'Ouvrier Américain." Published in special volume of the Johns Hopkins University Studies.

"*Financial Problems in Porto Rico.*" Annals of the American Academy, May, 1901.

A Series of papers upon Porto Rico. Published in the Nation (New York) in 1901.

Mr. Henry Charles Taylor has been appointed Instructor in Commerce at the University of Wisconsin, beginning his academic work September, 1901. Mr. Taylor was born April 16, 1873, at Stockport, Van Buren County, Iowa. He received his early education in the public schools and his preparation for college in the academic department of Drake University. He entered the Iowa Agricultural College, graduating in 1896 with the degree of B. Agr. In 1898 Mr. Taylor took the degree of M. S. from the Iowa Agricultural College. He then entered the University of Wisconsin, pursuing graduate studies from 1896 to 1899 inclusive, and continuing the same at the London School of Economics in the winter of 1899–1900, and at the Universities of Halle and Berlin in the academic year 1900–1901.

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES.

PROFESSOR ADAMS, OF YALE, and Professor Stephens, of Cornell, have edited a most useful volume of selections for students of English Constitutional History.[1] The collection begins with the ordinance of William the Conqueror for the separation of spiritual and temporal courts, and ends with the third redistribution of parliamentary seats in 1885. For the eight centuries thus included there are 276 documents. A statistical statement will show most readily where the strength of the book lies: For the first two centuries, to 1285, there are 44 selections; for the next two centuries, 91; 1486–1685, 97; for the last two centuries, 44. The older documents, originally in Latin or old French, are published in translation; many of the modern documents are abridged, in order to save space. For each document the bibliographical reference is given in full; but there is no introduction, as this volume is intended for use with a text-book. The editors acknowledge their indebtedness to Stubbs, Prothero, Gardiner, Gee and Hardy, and the series of "Translations and Reprints," but their own book is much more than a mere selection from the collections previously published. Even for the period covered by Stubbs' *Select Charters*, it furnishes some important documents not included in that work. In addition the book contains material in English for the whole period of the development of the constitution, and for this reason it is more useful for undergraduate work than any other collection.[2]

SIR JOHN BOURINOT'S "Constitutional History of Canada"[3] has appeared in a new and enlarged edition. The new edition is similar to the first in its general legal tone. Numbers of new decisions have been added and the work now includes a fairly complete discussion of the judicial decisions governing the most important practical questions before the Canadian government. In the last chapter several interesting observations on the practical operation of parliamentary government in Canada are given. Prominent among the subjects discussed are: Constitutional Relations Between Great Britain and Canada, The Written and Uuwritten Law of the Constitution, The Federal Executive, Ministerial Responsibility, etc.

[1] *Select Documents of English Constitutional History.* Edited by GEORGE BURTON ADAMS and H. MORSE STEPHENS. Pp. 555. Price, $2.25. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901.

[2] Contributed by Dana C. Munro.

[3] Pp. 246. Toronto: Copp, Clark Co., 1901.

"THE SOCIAL AND IMPERIAL LIFE OF BRITAIN"[1] is a discussion of the English people in their military activity. The work is not as coherent as might be desired, nor is its exact purpose clear. The topics discussed include: The Evils of War and their Mitigation, War as a Means of Livelihood, War, Colonization and Empire, War and Taxation, War and Prosperity, War and Justice, War and the State of Society, War and the Constitution.

While an immense mass of material has been assembled by the writer, it is of doubtful value, and lacks the marshaling and systematic arrangement which are usually considered requisite for scientific use. The style is easy and popular, but the different parts of the book lack connection with each other and with the title.

L'ÉVOLUTION ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE DE L'INDUSTRIE DE LA LAINE EN ANGLETERRE[2] is an excellent description of the rôle played by this important industry in England. Five periods are distinguished in the evolution of the English woolen trade—the early ages, the middle ages, the period of transition, the industrial revolution. and the present epoch. The author sketches in each period not only the processes of manufacture, but also the social surroundings of the industry, its territorial location, the interference of government, the rise of the factory system, the consequent social legislation, crises and depressions, wages, the standard of life and other factors which have entered into the growth of the industry or have resulted from it. The work gives by far the best treatment of the subject which has yet appeared, and it may be hoped that an English translation will soon be made.

THE FIRST NUMBER of the "*Empire Review*"[3] has appeared. The periodical is devoted to securing greater unity of the British Empire. If the high standard of the first number is maintained the "*Review*" will be a most important factor in developing a Pan-British sentiment throughout the scattered portions of the empire. The range of subjects treated is very wide, running from a semi-scientific article on "Crown Colony Government" to personal reminiscences of men who have been prominent in colonial government.

[1] By KENELM D. COTES, M. A. Pp. 683. Price, $3.50. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

[2] By LAURENT DECHESNE. Pp. 282. Price, 3.50 *fr.* Paris: Larose, 1900.

[3] London: Macmillan & Co. Price 1*s.* Issued monthly.

ANNALS OF POLITICS AND CULTURE[1] is an attempt to give a "concise summary of modern times, embracing the life of mankind in its entire thought and action." The author has been confronted by several difficult questions of method in making the summary. The work begins with 1492 and is carried up to 1899. The plan followed is to place upon one page the political developments of each year, and upon the other the most important events of science, art, sociology, literature, philosophy, etc. This method is comparatively successful in its results; the reader is able to turn to any year and there find a fairly complete statement of the most important happenings of the time.

The most serious criticism which might be made upon the work is the comparative lack of attention to economic phenomena. While the date of publication of works on economics and the development of the science of economics itself are noted, yet little is said about the growth of particular industries. A bibliography and a series of chronological tables are appended, and there is a good index. The work will be found quite useful to those who wish to support or combat historical theories.

ROMAN PUBLIC LIFE[2] gives a presentation of the growth of the Roman constitution and of its practical workings through the republic and the principate. The author takes up the central and local governments and shows the peculiar ability of the Roman people in the field of politics. The work is somewhat legal in character, but is interesting to the student of politics; especially noteworthy is the description of the provincial governments and the political position of the nobility.

VOLUME IV OF PROFESSOR HART'S "American History Told by Contemporaries," brings to a close this admirably selected and edited compilation of sources of American history.[3] A dozen pages are devoted to the bibliography of the period from 1845 to 1900, and to suggestions as to the use of sources; the remaining 650 pages are filled with extracts from contemporary writings, grouped under the following topics: Expansion and Slavery; the Contest Renewed; Causes of the Civil War; Conditions of the War; Progress of the War; Reconstruc-

[1] By G. P. GOOCH, M. A. Pp. 530. Price, $2.25. New York: Macmillan Company. (Cambridge: University Press), 1901.

[2] By A. H. J. GREENIDGE, M.A. Pp. 483. Price, $2.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901.

[3] *American History Told by Contemporaries.* Volume iv. Welding of the Nation 1845–1900. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Pp. xxi, 732. Price, $2.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901.

tion; the New United States; American Problems. The difficulty of compiling a record of recent events finds new illustration in this book. The problem of selection must have been extremely complex at a time when the historical judgment is still in suspense. It is interesting to observe that the editor's own contributions are both made in the rôle of a prophet rather than historian. Thirty years from now the reader will find it hard to understand the unfortunate scantiness of the material here presented, embodying contemporary opinion as to the great questions connected with the beginning and ending of the Spanish-American War. On the other hand, for the topics relating to the Civil War and to Reconstruction, he will find here a choice and comprehensive selection from contemporary writings which may well serve as the basis for forming a candid historical judgment.

At the end of the book is an excellent general index to all four volumes. In this index, the reader who is interested in the history of his country has at his command a resource for which he has reason to be profoundly grateful. In the hands of intelligent librarians and teachers these books cannot fail to be of the utmost effectiveness in quickening and vitilizing the study of American history.[1]

"LEGISLATIVE METHODS AND FORMS"[2] is a description of the rivalry between common and statute law, with special reference to the details of preparation, passage and codification of statutes in Great Britain and her colonies. The book also contains a complete and interesting collection of statutory forms for bills on various subjects commonly treated by Parliament. As parliamentary counsel to the Treasury and as a member of the council of the Governor-General of India the author has had exceptional opportunities for observation and experience in the field covered by his work. The American reader will find many interesting contrasts between English procedure and that followed in the United States. The impression is rapidly gaining ground in most countries with representative institution that the present forms of parliamentary government need revision. Under the cover of an apparent equality of the members of the legislature there is arising in all the legislative bodies of the world an intricate legislative machine which is not easily subjected to popular control. The necessity for this machine cannot be disputed, but certain effects of its operation are most objectionable. The author's chapter on "Parliament as a Legislative Machine" will be interesting to the lay reader as well as to the publicist. It shows clearly what is already suspected in most modern countries, namely, that the parliaments are getting away from the people.

[1] Contributed by George H. Haynes, Worcester Polytechnic Institute.

[2] By SIR COURTENAY ILBERT. Pp. 372. London: Henry Frowde, 1901.

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION IN GERMANY[1] is a brief discussion of the government of Halle a. S., a Prussian city of 150,000 inhabitants. Professor James, who is a well known authority on municipal government, has given an interesting presentation of the constitution and practical workings of the city. He has also grouped together a few practical questions of special importance, such as Civil Service, City Boards and Commissions, Gas and Electric Lighting, the Water Supply, Cemeteries, etc., and has treated of them in some detail. In more ways than one the monograph will be found to suggest a solution of some of our most difficult problems in American municipal government.

"MONEY-MAKING OCCUPATIONS FOR WOMEN"[2] would appear to be a timely volume. Either desire for independence, or necessity, is making it imperative that girls should choose a career outside of home life. Teaching is no longer considered the only profession for women; natural fitness and ability are required for whatever work is chosen. There is accordingly a need for a carefully prepared book giving full statistics of the occupations in which women are engaged; the training, qualifications and capital required for different careers, and the opportunities for advancement. Miss Kilbourn's book is intended to help women who are thrown upon their own resources. Some chapters contain valuable facts and suggestions. The chapters on boarding-house keeping, professional nursing, kindergarten system, bookkeeping, stenography and typewriting, the culture of violets and other flowers, mushrooms and cellar farms, and women as photographers, are practical. The section on chicken farming, as far as it goes, is well conceived and suggestive.

The book as a whole, however, fails to meet the situation. A logical and coherent classification is wanting. It is full of generalizations, indefinite statements and irrelevant matter. There are too many "ifs" and "shoulds" or "woulds," when only estimates are required. The inadequacy of the opening chapter on "Librarians" illustrates the way in which methods and costs of preparation are frequently ignored. "Do Not Despise the Day of Small Things" is an excellent title and some of the illustrations are good; but here, as elsewhere, the author fails to emphasize the opportunities to be found in satisfying old wants in new ways or in creating new wants. For instance,

[1] Municipal Administration in Germany as seen in the Government of a Typical Prussian City, Halle a. S. By EDMUND J. JAMES, Ph. D. (Studies in Political Science.) Pp. 93. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1901.

[2] *Money-Making Occupations for Women.* By KATHERINE R. KILBOURN. 2d edition. Pp. 176. Washington: The Neale Publishing Company, 1901.

clever women are continually developing specialized activities in the domestic field—trunk-packers, house cleaners and openers, buyers, jelly-makers, cake and bread makers, menders, or lunch-servers. A detailed account of this work, giving such examples as are cited by Professor Salmon in her "Domestic Science," would suggest to many women the possibility of trying some new line of work.

An adequate study of technical journals, government reports and current literature would give valuable and surprising information regarding women's occupations. For example, *The Buyers and Dry Goods Chronicle* for January 5 and 12, 1901, lists the buyers for large retail establishments all over the country. The number of women who successfully hold positions as buyers is noticeable. In the 108 stores there are 1,394 buyers, 250 of whom are women (17.9 per cent). These figures represent the individual buyers. In many stores the same man, especially if he is a member of the firm, buys for a large number of departments. This is sometimes true of women, although as a rule they buy for a smaller number of departments. In one store, with forty-three departments and sixteen buyers, six women purchase for twenty-two departments. The largest number of women buyers are found in the following departments: corsets (50 per cent), dressmaking (43 per cent), furs (11 per cent), gloves (20 per cent), handkerchiefs (14 per cent), hosiery (10 per cent) and underwear, infants' and misses' goods (40 per cent), jewelry (19 per cent), laces (21 per cent), ladies' underwear (35 per cent), leather, millinery, zephyr and fancy goods (27 per cent).

LA GUERRE ET L'HOMME[1] aims to show that war is opposed to humanity, justice, morality, religion and the economic interests of the world. It sets forth as the motives inciting men to war: Economic interest; the love of woman; the desire for the esteem of oneself and of others; attachment to members of the same nation, tribe or party; and antipathy to aliens. The writer attempts to show the varying influence of these motives in different stages of civilization and under different forms of government. National vanity and national antipathy he considers most important at the present time. True patriotism is defined and distinguished from the forms of vanity, self-love and hatred of foreign nations which are often mistaken for it, and forceful arguments are brought forward to show the absurdity of the duellistic interpretation of national honor. Nearly eighty pages are occupied with the horrors of military campaigns.

A belief in the approaching end of war is expressed. Not much

[1] *La Guerre et l'Homme.* By PAUL LACOMBE. Pp. 412. Price, 3.50*fr.* Paris: 1900. Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Edition (Librairie Georges Bellais).

importance is attached to the theory that methods of warfare will become so murderous that men will be deterred from fighting on that account, as it is maintained that means of defence will be improved and tactics will be changed to protect the soldiers from the increased dangers. The principal reason for the ultimate abandonment of war is based upon the growing cost of military campaigns, both directly in the expense of newly invented means of offence and defence, of improved methods of caring for the sick and wounded, of more liberal indemnities granted to the sufferers from the misfortunes of war, and indirectly in the stoppage of production and trade during the period of hostilities. A plan is proposed for a permanent preventive contract, by which two nations agree beforehand that all their disputes are to be settled by arbitration.

The book closes with an appeal to men to take pity upon themselves, since there is no assurance that outside of the human race the universe contains a single being who knows pity. This abrupt tone of change at the end illustrates one of the most conspicuous characteristics of the work,—the combination of the scientific and literary methods of treatment, with sudden transitions from one to the other. Naturally it follows that there seems to be no logical ground of division between the parts. The work as a whole is agglutinative rather than organic.

THE HISTORY OF THE rise and fall of the Spanish empire in the New World becomes daily of more interest to Americans. This is so not only because this rise and fall *has* affected our national growth and development, but because it is destined in the future far more to leave its impress upon the state. For these and other reasons Mr. Lowery's studies[1] in that early period, when the foundations of the Spanish-American empire were being laid, have interest for us.

In a very readable and judicious way he has told us the story of the various expeditions which set forth from Havana and Mexico to explore the regions to the north, regions now embraced within the limits of the Union. The author has not only given us a clear account of such notable incursions as those led by Ponce de Leon, Narvarez, de Soto and Coronado, but also has shown us the proper relation existing between these and a dozen or more of lesser note.

Mr. Lowery has not contented himself with such excellent secondary studies as those bearing the names of Shea, Bancroft, Bandelier, Win-

[1] *The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States.* By WOODBURY LOWERY. Pp. 575. Maps. Price, $2.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.

ship, Helps and Fiske, but has gone to the original sources and has had the satisfaction of pointing out a number of discrepancies in generally accepted narratives. There are, however, after all has been done, numerous problems which can never be solved. For instance, the exact routes of de Soto and Cabeça de Vaca. They can at best but be approximated, and it is with nice discrimination that our author takes up such mooted questions. The route of Cabeça de Vaca across Texas has been warmly debated, and it is not long since Mr. Lummis took up the gauntlet in behalf of Mr. Bandelier as against an article in the *Texas Historical Quarterly*. But this field has been probably for the last time disputed. Judge Coopwood's contributions on de Vaca's wanderings to the above mentioned journal bear the stamp of finality, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Lowery had not the advantage of those papers.

Part III of the work is devoted to the early missionaries, whose struggles and sacrifices are full of heroic devotion to duty, which, as they conceived it, commanded even their lives. The part played by religion, in relation to other motives, as an incentive to exploration and occupation of the country, has been but cursorily estimated in the past. Future students will find in it a fertile field.[1]

IF ONE WERE TO SEEK, among the problems of education, two which are of supreme importance he would likely decide that those indicated in the title of Mr. Mark's recent work,[2] deserve serious consideration. The author, thinking that what we are doing in this country toward the solution of these problems might be of value to educators in England, spent some months in visiting the schools of certain cities and interviewing certain persons identified with American education. These impressions, together with some quotations from current educational literature, he now gives us in book form. It is of course intended for English readers, and to them it ought to prove very suggestive. A great many interesting facts and opinions are gathered together, but the principle of relative importance seems often to have had but little consideration, and many of the experiments are not adequately described. It is to be expected that in a short tour by a stranger, over only a portion of the country, there will be many omissions. The value of this book to American readers is to be found in the impartial observations made by a stranger upon some important parts of our system.

[1] Contributed by W. F. M. Calib.

[2] *Individuality and the Moral Aim in American Education.* By H. T. Mark. Pp. xiii, 298. Price, $1.50. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

ST. LOUIS[1] is one of the most lovable characters in mediæval history. Fortunately the contemporary sources have preserved his deeds and thoughts so fully that he seems to students a very real man and not a mere name in history. It is strange that there has been so little written in English about him; but now we have a satisfactory biography in the "Heroes of the Nation" Series. For Mr. Perry's work is based upon a careful reading of the sources, and in many places it quotes directly the words of men who knew St. Louis intimately. The account of the king's private life is drawn chiefly from Joinville's delightful biography and is excellent. The illustrations are unhackneyed and give a good idea of the thirteenth and fourteenth century art. The twenty-four shields depicted form a useful addition and will be particularly interesting to students of heraldry. In fact we are glad to commend the book as a whole; it is both interesting and scholarly.[2]

ENGLISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT has been so often described by authors of many different nationalities that it would appear difficult to present anything new on the subject. Dr. Josef Redlich, of Vienna, has, however, taken up the subject anew, and his book,[3] which is constructed upon the prevalent German method, will be found quite useful by the German reader. The Anglo-Saxon mind ordinarily revolts at the methods of vivisection which are in vogue upon the Continent, but the results are to a certain extent successful in that a greater clearness and perspicacity is obtained. The American reader will also welcome a scientific analysis of a subject which heretofore has been most difficult to analyze. The bewildering mass of urban and rural districts, of poor-law unions, of school, health, highway and other authorities which make up the complex of English local government, can only be unraveled by the patient investigator who is trained in German methods. Probably the most interesting part of the work will be found in the sections dealing with the origin of English radicalism and its influence on the constitution and the administration, the administrative reform of the middle classes, the democratization of local councils and the new parish government. The author dwells upon the fact that in spite of radicalism and democracy the English national character still retains its conservative strain, and that this conservatism shows itself in the practical workings of the local govern-

[1] *St. Louis. The Most Christian King.* By FREDERICK PERRY, M. A. Heroes of the Nation Series. Pp. 303. Price, $1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.

[2] Contributed by Dana C. Munro.

[3] *Englische Lokalverwaltung.* By Dr. JOSEF REDLICH. Pp. 835. Price, 20 *m.* Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1901.

ment. Dr. Redlich has advanced beyond other authors who have described the English system, in that he has given a more detailed study to the recent changes in the parish.

A TEN YEARS' WAR, by Jacob Riis,[1] describes the fight with the slum which has been carried on in New York during the last decade. It reviews the efforts made to secure for the tenement districts better housing conditions, good lodging-places, parks, play-grounds, clean streets, and adequate school provisions. It presents the problems of the slum population as well as those of the slum environment and shows the progress which has been made in improving both. With his usual hopefulness the author is still looking forward to better things in the future. He believes that an awakened civic conscience and a more thorough and intelligent sympathy with the poor will finally put an end to the slum evil.

NAPOLEON'S COLONIAL POLICY is discussed in the tenth volume of Oldenbourg's Historical Library.[2] Dr. Roloff, the author, gives an interesting description of the comparatively unknown plans of Napoleon regarding his empire beyond the seas. The successive defeats which the French met on the ocean rendered the fulfillment of these plans impossible, but the author succeeds in establishing the fact that the Emperor's world-dreams included a systematic development of American, African, Asiatic and West Indian colonies. The description of the failure of these gigantic plans before the resistless force of the British navy lends additional interest to the present discussion of sea-power. The book will point a moral for those nations who contemplate the establishment of colonial empires.

THE ORIGIN OF REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT[3] has appeared in a second revised edition. Mr. Straus traces the religious elements which influenced the adoption of the republican form of government in the United States. He lays special stress upon the influence of the Hebrew commonwealth on our own. The children of Israel formed the first federal republic; they separated the Church from the State, recognized civil equality, and practised many political customs which are perpetuated under the American government.

[1] *A Ten Years' War*. Pp. 267. By JACOB A. RIIS. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900.

[2] *Die Kolonialpolitik Napoleons I.* By DR. GUSTAV ROLOFF. Pp. 258. Price, 5*m*. Munich and Leipzig: R. Oldenbourg.

[3] *Origin of Republican Form of Government in the United States of America*. By OSCAR S. STRAUS, Litt. D., LL.D. Pp. 151. Price, $1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.

THE FIELD OF CHILD STUDY[1] has been particularly tempting to the enthusiasts and emotionalists in education and they have harrowed our feelings, bothered us with more or less silly *questionnaires*, and made the study of education almost a laughing-stock by the absurd claims which some of them have advanced for their "discoveries." One naturally looks askance at works bearing on this subject, and therefore it is pleasant to be able to commend a volume as modest, sane, interesting and suggestive. This book is a valuable aid to the teacher at work, and its twenty chapters have a special value as affording topics for discussion at the teachers' meetings. The chapter on "imagery" impresses the reader strongly and the handling of symbolism, as expounded by the followers of Froebel, is well done.[2]

EFFICIENCY AND EMPIRE[3] is an interesting discussion of the present condition of English politics. Mr. Arnold White is well known as an able writer whose thorough familiarity with the ins and outs of political life renders him capable of treating his chosen subject. The book is a scathing indictment of the present parliamentary system of Great Britain in foreign policy, in internal reforms, in the administration of the Treasury, in colonial government, in the navy, the consular service, the school system, and last, but not least, in the war office.

The conduct of the ruling classes of Great Britain is shown to have fallen short of business standards. Mr. White is not an ardent Boer sympathiser; he believes that the war was inevitable, but his criticism is directed toward the way in which it was brought on and especially toward the persistent blundering of the authorities at London during the course of the war. He gives an admirable summary of the measures which are necessary to extricate the British government from its present decadence. The criticism is so keen and the suggestions appear to be so well borne out by what is known on this side of the water about English conditions, that Mr. White's summary deserves to be widely circulated among all Anglo-Saxons. Briefly condensed, the author's suggestions are as follows:

Give more place to the services of experts in the government.

Define more sharply the responsibility of each position in the civil service.

Punish mistakes without delay.

[1] *Notes on Child Study.* (Columbia Contributions to Philosophy, Psychology and Education.) By EDWARD LEE THORNDIKE. Pp. 157. Price, $1.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901.

[2] Contributed by George Herbert Locke.

[3] By ARNOLD WHITE. Pp. 315. Price, 6s. London: Methuen & Co., 1901.

Dismiss the unfit and the unsuccessful.

Reward directly those who render *extraordinary* service.

Inspect all offices at irregular times.

In bestowing honors let the nature of the service be stated when the honor is conferred.

Honor the schoolmaster and bring education up to date.

Abandon the practice of conferring peerages upon liquor dealers.

Divorce the government from the influence of the priest, the lawyer and the stockbroker.

Abandon the practice of appointing commissions of inquiry and ignoring their recommendations.

Prohibit the present custom of giving "charities" or subsidies by members of Parliament to their constituents.

Choose ministers only for personal fitness.

Abandon the policy of tolerance toward indiscriminate attacks upon Great Britain under the guise of humanitarianism.

REVIEWS.

Histoire Politique de la Révolution Française. By A. AULARD. 8vo. Pp. xii, 805. Price 12 *fr.* Paris: Armand Colin.

Aulard has been so closely associated with all the recent monograph and source work on the French Revolution that he is clearly recognized as the foremost student of the period. He began his special studies as far back as 1879, a few years later he began his lectures on the Revolution at the Sarbonne, and was made Professor at the University of Paris. He is the editor of *La Révolution Française*, and has edited and published an almost incredible amount of source material on the period. In the present work the results of his long and extensive researches find expression in a remarkably perspicacious and forceful history of the political development in France from 1789 to 1804.

The author set himself the task of writing a scientific work. "It is my ambition," he says, "that my work shall be regarded as an example of the application of the historic method to the study of an epoch disfigured by passion and legend." That such an effort was much needed will appear on a moment's reflection upon the general character of the works on the Revolution by such writers as Louis Blanc, Thiers, Carlyle, Lamartine, Taine, Von Sybel and others. In the realization of his ambition Aulard enjoyed a marked advantage over his predecessors. Only in our own day is a thoroughly unprejudiced and scientific history of the Revolution possible. Personal and national prejudices obscured the vision of most of the earlier writers on the

subject. The application of historic criticism and the scholarly weighing of the evidence had not been made, and it was virtually impossible to construct a scientifically accurate history out of the great embarrassing mass of material at hand. The sifting process has been going on for over a century; for the last twenty years historic methods have been employed in the criticism and estimation of the sources, and a scholarly history conformable to Aulard's ideal has been brought within the range of possibility. No other proof is needed than the volume now before the public. So far as the political development of the Revolution is concerned the author has been eminently successful.

The work falls into four divisions: The origins of the Democracy and of the Republic (1789–1792). The democratic Republic (1792–1795). The Republic of the middle class (1795–1799). The Republic based on the plebiscite (la République plébiscitaire) (1799–1804). This division is in itself unique. It does not follow the usual method of marking the periods by a series of dramatic events, striking in themselves, but after all only surface phenomena of the deep-seated political transformation upon which Aulard bases his divisions. Indeed one fails to find much that has long occupied a prominent place in other works on the Revolution. There is no attempt to draw pictures, after the fashion of Taine and others. Facts are chosen because of their influence upon the development, not because they are dramatic or entertaining. The taking of the Bastille, and the march of the women to Versailles receive the barest mention. The method of exposition is topical, rather than chronological. This involves a certain amount of repetition, a necessity with which the author never hesitates to comply.

Aulard is strongly in sympathy with the vital issues of the Revolution, which he considers to be a struggle for equality of rights and the sovereignty of the nation in the state. He finds the preparation for the Revolution in the great transformation of the intellectual life of the nation in the eighteenth century. It came to a head in the opposition between the king and the National Assembly, the one standing for traditional authority, the other for the new principle of the sovereignty of the nation. The struggle is precipitated by the people of Paris, the taking of the Bastille and the spontaneous reorganization of France through its municipalities and their relation to the assembly, into a new and unified nation. The Constitutional Assembly organizes an administrative system for the new state which assumes the form of the limited monarchy, resting for its support upon the upper middle class. A series of chance circumstances brings the small democratic minority into the ascendancy. The defeats on the frontier, the flight, capture and treason of the king, result in Louis XVI. being set

aside. For the first time *universal suffrage* is introduced. A few months later, September 22, 1792, the democratic republic is established. The dangers of the nation, which follow immediately afterwards from the invasion of her territories by foreign armies, and from the civil war at home demand a strong rule. The revolutionary government is set up; the Committee of Public Safety, the Revolutionary Tribunal, the Representatives on Missions, etc., are all essentially war measures, and all certain to fall as soon as the situation which called them forth disappears. Hence the reaction against the Terror and the Jacobins is easily successful. A new republic called by Aulard (la Republique bourgeoise) is set up under the Directory. The royalist reaction and the revival of the Jacobins produces a feverish fear among the middle class. This makes the overthrow of the Directory an easy matter for Napoleon. Under Napoleon the government is gradually but irresistibly transformed into a despotism of the worst kind. Ten years of tyranny marked by carnage and bloodshed followed the advent of the Corsican. The political work of the Revolution was overthrown and France has not yet made good this unfortunate loss.

The work is so well done that criticism is out of place. Still, we cannot but feel sorry that such admirable ability and industry, and such a thorough mastery of the constructive principles of history should confine itself so exclusively to a one-sided study of the Revolution. The writer who finds the *causes* of the origin and development of parties, of the changes in public opinion, and the overthrow of one form of government for another so exclusively in political events is overlooking the deep-seated social and economic reasons basic for that development. Where the attempt is merely to tell *what happened* in the political development, social and economic conditions may be left out of consideration. Immediately however, when the political historian goes a step further and seeks to *account* for the political phenomena, then even he cannot afford to disregard that side of the national life which determines to such a large degree the form and development of political institutions.

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University of Pennsylvania.

A Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology. Written by many hands and Edited by JAMES MARK BALDWIN, with the co-operation and assistance of an International Board of Consulting Editors. In three volumes, with illustrations and extensive bibliographies. Vol. I. Price, $5. New York: Macmillan Company, 1901.

Although the primary objects of this dictionary are, as the title indi-

cates, philosophy and psychology, it also includes many of the principal conceptions of the social, economic, biological and physical sciences. It contains a terminology in English, French, German and Italian. It is a "dictionary with encyclopædic features." In the first place it aims "to understand the meanings which our terms have and to render them by clear definitions;" in the second place "to interpret the movements of thought through which the meanings thus determined have arisen, with a view to discovering what is really vital in the development of thought and term in one." A pedagogical end has been held in view throughout. It is not primarily intended for the specialist, but for the student, and hence the form which it has finally taken has been largely determined by the desire to state "formulated and well-defined" results rather than to recount discussions. The biographical notices are brief, but to nearly all articles short bibliographical notes are appended, and volume three is to contain a comprehensive bibliography.

In the present review I wish to call attention chiefly to one aspect of the book. The editor has endeavored to combine two distinctly different ideals as to what such a dictionary should be—to give an impartial survey of the conceptions which have actually been attached to the words given and of the theories grouped about those conceptions, and to sift from this mass of material those conceptions and theories that should be regarded as valid and therefore worthy of authorization.

Many of the faults of the dictionary can be traced to the second of these two ideals. The greater number of the sciences with which it deals are as yet in an imperfect condition, wide differences of opinion exist, and it is impossible that any one man or group of men should decide which of these opinions are to be authorized and which are to be condemned. In so far as the second ideal has been pursued the book tends to become partisan and, in some cases, even polemical. This fault does not affect all the articles in equal degree, but there are few which it does not mar to some extent. If one, however, accepts the dictionary for what it is—a collection of brief articles by scholars of acknowledged standing in their several fields, giving their own views and, with varying degrees of completeness, the views of others on questions which are for the most part *adhuc sub judice*—he will find in it a vast amount of material arranged conveniently for reference, and bibliographical notes which will enable him to pursue any given subject further

Many of the articles are admirable summaries. Among those meriting special mention are four by Professor Royce on Greek Terminology, Latin and Patristic Terminology, the Terminology of Kant

and that of Hegel (the last two in particular being conspicuous examples of keen analysis and lucid statement), the editor's article on "Belief," President Wheeler's on "Language," and a long article on "Laboratories of Psychology," by Professor Warren and others.

WILLIAM ROMAINE NEWBOLD.

University of Pennsylvania.

Inductive Sociology: A Syllabus of Methods, Analyses and Classifications, and Provisionally Formulated Laws. By FRANKLIN HENRY GIDDINGS, Ph. D., LL. D., Professor in Columbia University, New York. Pp. 302. Price, $2.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901.

Suggestive and stimulating as Professor Giddings' other works have been, for the scientific student of society this book has a much higher value. Indeed, it may be doubted whether as an illustration of the application of scientific method to the study of social phenomena it has a superior. It is a most successful attempt to show how that method can be applied to the study of the problems of social life. It is perhaps not too much to say that this book, despite certain faults, represents the high-water mark of scientific sociology in America. As such its value should be cordially recognized by every American sociologist.

The book is a radical departure in that it proposes to demonstrate even the most general propositions of sociological theory by the statistical method. The author admits that exact statistics cannot be obtained, but thinks that exactness in statistics is not required for the demonstration of social laws; that all that is necessary to prove in many cases in the quantitative analysis of social facts is the "more or the less."[1] Whether this important modification of statistical method is sound or not, every scientific student of society will commend the proposal to make larger use of statistical material. Professor Giddings deserves the appreciation of his co-workers for this departure from the beaten path of sociological method.

While the work is free from those errors in logic and psychology which characterized his earlier work, "The Principles of Sociology," Professor Giddings has not wholly broken away from his fallacies of the past. He still attempts to interpret all social phenomena in terms of one elementary fact, namely, "like-mindedness," or "the consciousness of kind."[2] So far as Professor Giddings makes this his leading theory, and attempts to make the whole social process

[1] *See* pp. 23, 24.

[2] *See* Part II, chapters i, ii, iii and iv.

revolve around this fact, he is guilty of leaving the standpoint of inductive sociology and of reducing induction to a mere method of fortifying deduction. Part II, on "The Social Mind," shows no clear evidence of formulation through induction. It is in spirit and method, in fact throughout, deductive; and induction, when used, is used to corroborate the "leading theory." We can hardly properly call this "inductive sociology." If Professor Giddings had interpreted social phenomena in terms of other elementary facts, such as "co-ordination" and "imitation," he would not again have been guilty of letting his "leading theory" run away with him, and thus vitiate the whole process of induction. The process of induction must be controlled and checked, not by one "leading theory," but by many hypotheses. The emphasis of this elementary principle of inductive logic would have been salutary in a present work on inductive sociology.

Professor Giddings does not often enough take the functional point of view in his description of social reality. He does not describe the social process *teleologically*, but looks at it from the point of view of structure. He looks at society in cross-section and not in movement.

The view he presents of society is *non-evolutionary*. It leads one to see it as a stationary process, confined within the limits of apparent antecedent causes. However, Professor Giddings meets this criticism by a statement in the preface that "studies of the historical evolution of society, and of the deeper problems of causation, are not included." In a work of the scope of Professor Giddings' the functional and evolutionary points of view should have been more largely introduced. There can be no true view of society which is not functional and evolutionary. The process of society is essentially and primarily teleological, and any interpretation not teleological will be mechanical and therefore false.

The most important criticism of the book is that Professor Giddings lays more stress on the method of quantitative analysis than on the nature of the subject-matter of sociology. This position is in no way inconsistent with a full appreciation of the value of the statistical method. Methods of measurement should be employed in sociology wherever they can be, in order to give the science as much exactness as possible. But care should be taken not to over-emphasize mathematics in the methodology of the social sciences, for much of the phenomena with which they deal is capable only of qualitative analysis and not of quantitative measurement. If this fact be not clearly recognized at the outset the whole subject of sociology may be easily brought into disrepute, for a sociology that wholly depends upon mathematical method is foredoomed to failure. Sociology, in com-

mon with all psychical sciences, submits itself to logic rather than to mathematics as its controlling and regulative discipline, and its essential method of generalization is not through quantitative measurement, but rather through qualitative analysis of facts.

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Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Classes, and of Their Social Betterment. By CHARLES RICHMOND HENDERSON. Pp. viii, 397. Price, $1.50. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1901.

The work is a revision of a volume published eight years ago under the same title. Since the earlier edition many changes have been made and matter has been added as a result, the author states, of "wider reading and further practical experience in charity organization work and class-room instruction." The book is divided into four parts: 1. The Phenomena of Dependence and Their Explanation; 2. Social Organization for the Relief and Care of Dependents; 3. Social Arrangements for the Education, Relief, Care and Custody of Defectives; 4. An Introduction to Criminal Sociology. The first part is theoretical and considers the general conditions which are responsible for the Social Debtor and the Anti-Social Classes. The other parts are largely practical. The work is comprehensive and well suited to use as a text. In fact it is the only work in English covering the entire field. In the practical parts the work is largely descriptive, giving methods and purposes in treating the dependent, defective and criminal Classes. The author, however, has definite opinions as to the causes of the various classes receiving special care by society, and passes judgment on the institutions organized for their treatment and the methods employed. This adds greatly to the value of the work. We are interested in knowing what institutions exist and what methods are employed in them to care for these various classes; but we feel that a man who has devoted years to both theoretical study and practical work has a right to speak with authority.

The author severely arraigns the system of public indoor relief where sexes mingle, where respectable poor people are compelled to associate with the feeble-minded, "the debased, the diseased and criminal," and where children are compelled to grow up "in these abodes of the unfit," where "the natural avenues to wholesome living—industry, school, church—are closed." He advocates that children should never be kept in county poorhouses, that "men and women should be housed in non-communicating wards," and that "inmates should be separated on lines of character and habits."

In the case of the unemployed and homeless dependents, the worst system prevails where free lodgings are furnished in police stations, in which all sorts and conditions of men are allowed to sleep in the same room. The author commends wayfarers' lodges, where food and bed are furnished in compensation for labor which the applicant can perform. The workhouse is also commended where the capable who are unwilling to work are sent. A system which should meet all the requirements demanded in the treatment of these classes must provide for "emergency relief, for ordinary conditions and for prevention."

Over one-third of the work is devoted to criminal sociology, or crime from the standpoint of social welfare. After considering the conditions of criminality, its manifestations, its treatment and the development of ideals regarding the proper attitude of society toward the criminal classes, the author advocates measures looking to a removal of the social causes of criminality. In this the work represents the modern attitude toward criminality. Among the social causes mentioned are defective economic conditions, the prevalence of standing armies and the custom of drinking intoxicants. The reader cannot close the book without wishing that more space had been devoted to an interpretation of the social causes of crime and less to the descriptive part. That this is really an undeveloped field is perhaps responsible for the little space devoted to it.

Ohio State University. J. E. HAGERTY.

The Social Problem. By J. A. HOBSON. Pp. xi, 295. Price, $2.00. New York: James Potts & Co., 1901.

The confusion of thought in this book is shown in the summing up of the study of the theory of utility. To really understand the concrete utilities of a national income "we require to know (1) What the goods and services are (2) who will get the use of them (3) how far the actual consumers are capable of getting the highest use out of them."

The third question is largely insoluble. No method of statistics can discover and tabulate the facts required for any answer which would be available in scientific investigation. From the point of view of ethics, the last question is highly interesting, and if it could be answered with any degree of exactness, it would seem to demand an effort to see that the right persons secured the commodities so that only the highest use might result in the greatest good. Socialism is unable to invent a method by which commodities can be distributed in the exact measure of the wisdom and opportunities of the recipients. The discussions in this collection of essays are not without value,

because of the warnings with respect to the administration of charity and the contention as to the inefficiency of consumers' leagues.

The argument for socialism is based upon what is called the "natural" right of property. It is an infringement of these "rights" for an individual to have less or more than the "physical and moral stimulus to productivity." There should be neither want nor surplus. Bequest and inheritance are only "palliatives of social disease." The fallacy of this discussion, as in every plea for an artificial equality, is found in the fact that the highest productivity cannot be secured unless the producer has the stimulus of indefinite surplus. The inheritance of property has been, in by far the larger number of cases, of great advantage in every way. The social parasite is more conspicuous than prevalent. Were the stimulus of the family idea weakened by the elimination of the incentive to toil found in the effort to provide for posterity, economic conditions would at once suffer.

The argument against specialization in industry, that making production more efficient entails a direful "human cost," in the degradation of the workingman, is a statement that cannot be verified. Historically, workingmen were never so intelligent and capable as now. Theoretically, if the employment uses but a part of the man in earning a livelihood, there is a surplus of time and power for the larger circle of human interests.

SAMUEL G. SMITH.

University of Minnesota.

History of the Working Classes and of Industry in France Before 1789. By E. LEVASSEUR, Member of the Institut. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris: Rousseau, 1900.

Levasseur is an example of what perseverance will do in the development of genius. Forty years ago he won a prize in an academic competition; that essay was the beginning of his work as author. It formed the basis of the "History of the Working Classes and of Industry in France" as it now appears. In the interval he has published his "History of the Working Classes of France from 1789 to 1867," and a work on "The American Workman" in two short volumes, reduced to one in the Johns Hopkins translation. He has also given the world a number of volumes on Geography, Statistics, Education, Politics and Social Science—all valuable contributions.

Founded upon an almost encyclopædic knowledge of the facts of historic development, his new edition, or more properly speaking his new work on the French Working Classes, is destined to be the standard of reference for men in both economic and historical fields. It

is to be hoped that health and strength and years may be spared him to recast and rewrite with the same fulness his projected work on French Industry from the Revolution to the close of the nineteenth century. No teacher can leave a better legacy to his own students and to later generations.

He divides the work under review into seven periods: (1) That of Roman rule, with the workman as slave to his guild under imperial despotism; (2) the invasions, with the workmen scattered and living as serfs on the land of some great lord or as monks in cloisters—the working classes almost annihilated under the barbarians; (3) the period of feudal life and of the crusades, when the workmen again re-established their guilds, and industry and commerce flourished; (4) the Hundred Years' War, with the successful effort of the workmen to strengthen their organization and to secure the support of church and crown; (5) the Renaissance, marked by the triumphs of art and industry and by the growth of the power of the workingmen; their final repression under Henry IV. by vexatious regulations and heavy taxation; (6) the eighteenth century, with the economists as leaders of public thought and their struggle to free labor from taxation and vexatious interference on the part of the state; (7) the Revolution, that at once both overthrew the state and trade corporations.

The history of these eighteen centuries is drawn from the great number of special works which owe their value to leading French writers, but who have limited their research to narrow subjects, and from the inventories of the archives of departments and communes, of which some 350 volumes have been printed. Instead of weighting down his pages, however, with the bibliography of his subject, Levasseur has made this one of his most valuable independent contributions to the Academy, of which he is a distinguished member, thus enriching its publications and giving to students the benefit of his research.

J. G. ROSENGARTEN.

Philadelphia.

The Other Man's Country: An Appeal to Conscience. By HERBERT WELSH. Pp 257. Price, $1.00. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1900.

"The Other Man's Country" is a discussion of the action of the United States in the Philippines, and an arraignment of the policy pursued by the McKinley administration with regard to those islands. Of Mr. Welsh's four chapters, two are historical in character, and two didactic. The first reviews the events of the two years preceding the battle of Manila, the second details the history of American rule in

the Philippines and analyzes some disputed questions of chronology and responsibility. The third is a forecast of the probable effects of the imperialist policy upon the future position and character of the United States. The fourth is a formal "appeal to conscience."

Mr. Welsh tells a familiar story—one that has been told and retold in the contemporary press with every possible variation, but he tells it in an unfamiliar way. He gives chapter and verse for every statement; he has consulted the authorities, official and other; he has collated the fugitive articles of contemporary writers. He gives as the results of his labors a clear, connected statement of the anti-imperialist's point of view—probably the best presentation yet made.

Mr. Welsh is not an historian, for he is too near to and too deeply interested in the events of which he takes account. That his book is a plea for one side of the present controversy over national policy he would be the last to deny. It is a plea in the same sense that every application of ethical principles to concrete conditions must be a plea. It must influence many, for it adds to wide information, logical analysis and high moral purpose, the charm of clear and persuasive English.

H. PARKER WILLIS.

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NOTES.

I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

The League of American Municipalities held its fifth annual convention at Jamestown, N. Y., August 21–23, 1901. About sixty cities in twenty states sent delegates. Among 175 accredited delegates, *i. e.* city officials, there were about twenty mayors and a half dozen engineers, ten other departments having from one to five representatives. Six business sessions were held, at which a dozen prepared papers were presented. Several valuable papers were read by title, including "Self-Government for Cities," by Professor Frank Parsons, and "Practical Applications of Uniform Accounting to City Comptrollers' Reports," by H. S. Chase, of Boston, this last being probably the most important of the papers which appear in the proceedings. Of the principal papers published six, or about one-third, recount actual experiences and have to do with garbage disposal, cost and durability of brick pavements, bituminous pavements, steel and concrete in municipal construction, municipal restriction of vice and municipal lodging houses. The remaining papers are for the most part general, and with one or two exceptions do not show signs of careful preparation. At the sessions there was little relevant discussion of material presented, nor were many questions asked. About the hotels, however, and during recesses there was a liberal interchange of experiences, showing that delegates, if not caring for the theories and rhetoric of other delegates, were really interested in what cities had done or attempted.

A visitor was impressed by the predominance of the smaller cities, of which there are scores, and the non-representation of the large cities, of which there are very few. That East St. Louis sent twenty-seven delegates and Wilmington, Del., sent fifteen, means more for the dissemination of important practical information than for Chicago and New York to have sent their entire official staffs. Secondly, the convention demonstrated that generalizations and theories based upon one or two years of service in any municipal office are not necessarily practical. So long as officials told only what they knew they held the interest of fellow-officials and contributed to the most worthy ends for which the League stands.

Alabama Constitutional Convention.—*Municipalities.*—The work of the Alabama Constitutional Convention was completed on September 4, when the constitution was signed by the members and submitted to the people for ratification. The chairman of the committee upon

[1] Contributed by Albert E. McKinley, Ph. D., Philadelphia, October 8, 1901.

municipalities was Hon. John B. Weakley, president of the League of Alabama Municipalities, and well known for his efficient management of the affairs of the city of Florence during his service in the office of mayor. With Mr. Weakley, fourteen other members were associated upon this committee. On the twenty-fourth of last June the committee reported a well-designed scheme of municipal government to the convention. The Assembly should have authority to divide municipalities into four classes and pass general laws for the organization and control of each class; and it might assign cities to the respective classes according to their population at the last Federal census. Any city having over 20,000 inhabitants should have the privilege of appointing a board for charter revision, and the right to accept or reject the amended charter by popular vote. No public franchises should be given for a longer term than twenty years, and thirty days' advertisement must be made of application for franchises. No municipal bonds should be issued except after popular vote sanctioning the issue. No railway, telegraph, telephone, heating or lighting company should be permitted to lay tracks or erect apparatus upon the streets of cities or towns without the consent of the municipalities concerned. Restrictions were placed upon the taxing and borrowing powers of municipal corporations; but exceptions were made in favor of nine named corporations.

The work of the committee was largely set aside by the convention, which made but slight advance toward grouping of municipalities or a general system of local government. By the completed document, indeed, the legislature is forbidden to pass special acts incorporating municipalities, but the committee's suggestion of a mandatory provision compelling the establishment of four classes of cities and towns was cut out. The radical proposal for the amending of city charters by popular vote was tabled in convention. On the other hand, the document contains the provision giving municipal corporations control of their own streets. The convention also took strong ground on the public franchise question, limiting the term of all grants by municipalities, except to railroads other than street railways, to a period of thirty years.

Definite limits are placed, both to taxation and to borrowing, by the new constitution. The general limit to the taxing power is one-half of one per cent upon the valuation as fixed by the last state assessment; but this is subject to several exceptions. Thus a tax of one per cent may be levied to pay debts contracted before December 6, 1875; the city of Mobile may levy a tax of three-quarters of one per cent; Montgomery may levy one and one-quarter per cent; and sixteen other cities and towns may exceed the one-half of one per cent in certain proportions and for certain specified purposes.

No county may exceed a total indebtedness of three and one-half per cent of the assessed valuation of property therein; except where that proportion is at present exceeded, in which case an addition of one and one-half per cent may be made. For towns under 6,000 population the general limit of indebtedness is five per cent; and for towns exceeding that population, the general limit is seven per cent. But in both of these cases there are exceptions in favor of certain forms of indebtedness and in favor of enumerated towns. The seven per cent limit is extended to the towns of Gadsden, Ensley, Decatur and New Decatur, although their population varies between 2,100 and 4,437; the limit does not apply to loans contracted for school houses, water works or sewers; and "nothing herein contained shall prevent any municipality except the city of Gadsden from issuing bonds already authorized by law." The two sections containing this jumble of general and special legislation close with the words: "This section shall not apply to the cities of Sheffield and Tuscombia."

This is local legislation of the most pronounced type. When the sections were under discussion in the convention, one member after another had an exception to introduce; and at last when a delegate protested against such special provisions, twenty cities or towns had been specifically favored in the constitution. These municipalities, with but five exceptions, are growing communities, showing a higher rate of increase in population between 1890 and 1900 than the average for the whole state; and they vary in size from a population of 551 up to 38,469.

Upon the whole the municipal provisions of the constitution are very conservative. The restrictions upon taxation and indebtedness are good features, but they are rendered almost nugatory by the special legislation which the convention adopted. A like privilege of special legislation, fortunately, it forbade the legislature to exercise. Local control over municipal charters was refused, but provision was made for the submission of all loan proposals to popular vote. The most radical feature was the thirty years' limit upon public franchises.[1]

Utah.—*Woman Suffrage and Municipal Politics.*[1] Utah was the second among the western commonwealths to extend to women the privilege of voting at general elections, Utah's woman suffrage bill having been approved two months after a similar bill had passed the legislature of Wyoming. Though the institution may be regarded in a general way as one of the natural products of the West, in Utah it has had a far more sensational meaning and history than are attached to it in any other locality. Here, as elsewhere, it is now but a com-

[1] Contributed by Professor G. Corey

monplace of western life; originally it was one of the most hated allies of polygamy, though suggested by its inventor, so far as Utah is concerned, as the rock upon which polygamy was to end its existence.

In the early days of the Utah agitation the belief was common that the women of Utah were being drawn into plural marriages contrary to their sentiments, and that if given the elective franchise and a secret ballot they would accomplish their deliverance by diverting all political power from the supporters of polygamy into the hands of its enemies. In accordance with this idea, some time in 1869 Representative Julian, of Indiana, introduced into the House of Representatives a bill giving to the women of Utah the elective franchise, for the purpose, as alleged, of abolishing polygamy. Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas, about the same time introduced a similar measure into the Senate. Neither of the bills became law, but the men against whom they were designed quickly perceived in this stupid error of their adversaries the suggestion of a new advantage to themselves. They accordingly proceeded at once through the territorial legislature, which they controlled at that time, to legalize woman suffrage.

The first succeeding election fully revealed how very little the opponents of polygamy then knew of the real character of that problem. It being manifested that the woman's vote was indeed a new moral as well as political intrenchment for polygamy, various efforts were made through the federal courts and by other means to invalidate the woman suffrage law, but the practice continued without interruption until the law was finally annulled by a provision in the Edmunds-Tucker law, approved in 1887, which compassed likewise the disfranchisement of all male voters practicing plural marriage.

This was indeed the end of woman suffrage as an adjunct of polygamy; but the institution for its own sake remained as an active moral principle in the social fibre of the commonwealth, and nine years later, when the enabling act had been passed for the admission of Utah into the Union, and the people and the institutions of the territory were unconsciously adjusting themselves to the contemplated change in their political life, then this great principle of woman's right, divested of the hateful associations of its infancy, matured, compact and assertive, arose again into public thought, and with so forceful a presence as to meet with scarcely a pretence of resistance; and so it became a part of our fundamental law.

Since our admission into the Union, Utah has been under the same national party system that prevails in other states. Under their constitutional privileges women have participated on an equality with men in all regular political functions, such for instance as committee

organizations, primaries, conventions, campaign work, and elections. Some have occupied seats in the legislature, but that practice is losing favor. While the results are not in form for statistical presentation, the public mind on the subject is sharply defined and self-evident. There does not appear anywhere the faintest symptom of a belief that the women of Utah will ever be deprived of their elective franchise.

When we come to practical results we find them very much more indeterminate than are opinions and theories. In municipal affairs, for instance, the tendency of spoilsmen in public service seems to be about as corrupt as ever. Nevertheless the theory is sound, and is maintained with firmness, that whatever independent influence woman may exert as a voter must in the nature of things be in the direction of good government.

Allied to this question is one touching the relative individuality of the sexes. In the preparation of this article many prominent men have been consulted, and somewhat to my surprise the belief proved to be general, that in households containing adult children of both sexes, while the tendency is for the group to vote as a unit, in case of a departure from this rule, the dissenting voter is more likely to be found among the female than among the male members. And yet the chief fault which the party promoters find with the woman vote is that women do not turn out at elections with an interest proportionate to their voting strength. It is estimated that the relative vote with respect to sex has never been more favorable to the women than three to five. This is about the complexion of the primaries. In the conventions the female representation is not greater than one-tenth. But there seems to be no doubt that political interest among the women is steadily growing.

The question has been asked by many students of the subject: Does the wife vote her husband's ticket? The answer is, that she probably does when he does not vote hers, and it is almost as likely to be one way as the other, the family influences being of a reciprocal character. But the people of Utah do not generally regard that feature as an objection to woman suffrage. They hold that the interest of a family in the maintenance of good government is far greater than that of an unmarried person, and that it is entitled to an advantage at elections.

Idaho.—*Woman Suffrage and Municipal Politics.*[1] The right of suffrage was extended to the women of Idaho in 1896 by a vote of 12,126 to 6,282. As over 10,000 electors failed to vote for or against the constitutional amendment, the Board of Canvassers declared that

[1] Contributed by Ida M. Weaver, Boise City.

the amendment had failed of ratification by a majority of the electors. Upon appeal to the Supreme Court, it was decided unanimously that the amendment had been adopted, the silence of the 10,000 voters being construed as assent. At the first election following the enfranchisement of women three women were elected to the legislature, one each from the republican, populist and silver republican parties, and a woman, the present incumbent, was made State Superintendent of Schools. Many local offices were filled by women, notably the county superintendentship of schools. During campaigns women's political clubs establish headquarters and keep a close watch on the registrar's books, and facilitate by every practicable legitimate means the registration of women voters.

The effect of equal suffrage upon municipal politics was characterized as follows in a recent letter from the chief justice of Idaho to the writer: "It has made all political parties more careful in the selection of candidates for office, especially the more important county offices, it being generally recognized as a fact that women will not support dishonest or corrupt men or women for office."

Philadelphia.—*The Voters' Union* of the twenty-seventh division, Twenty-second Ward, City of Philadelphia, was organized in September, 1901, with these objects: The arousing of interest in the proper exercise of the ballot; the dissemination of information in regard to candidates, party meetings and primary elections; the publication of election returns; the publication of extracts from the election laws and rules of the various parties; the improvement in every way possible of the conditions surrounding the holding of elections, primary and general. It is a home organization, with the field of its activities a single election district, and with no outside alliances. It does not endorse candidates, except as to the regularity of their nominations.

The information which is furnished about candidates consists of facts only, nothing editorial. Name, age, residence, occupation, political connections past and present, record as an officeholder, if any, and a photograph are all easily obtained, and go a long way in placing a candidate properly in the scale of fitness for any office to which he aspires. This information is furnished voters about candidates for ward, township and division offices before the elections, both primary and general. It is upon these minor offices, to which the newspapers give little or no attention, that the greatest stress is laid. One important branch of the work is the holding up to their full duty the officers conducting elections, primary and general.

All voters of the division are eligible to membership. It requires a majority vote of the executive committee, however, to elect. No one

is elected to membership until he has expressed a resolution to attend each year, for a period of five years, the two general elections; and, further, if he belong to a party, the primary elections and other regular meetings called for in the rules of that party. The rules of the Republican party call for attendance at the polls seven times a year. Out of over 300 Republican voters less than ten fulfilled these obligations last year. It is understood that members who, by reason of sickness or unavoidable absence from their homes, or from other cause, are unable to exercise these duties at any time will advise the secretary, if possible, before the date of the meeting or election which they do not expect to attend.

The work is conducted by an executive committee of seven, elected at the annual meeting. They fill vacancies in their own body. There are no dues and the expenses are borne by voluntary contributions. An officer becoming a candidate for public office ceases to hold his office in the Voters' Union.

During the recent campaign personal letters were sent to every voter in the division who did not vote at the previous election. A stronger personal letter was sent to those who did not vote at the two previous elections. Notices to pay poll tax, miniature sample ballots, and other information about the election were sent to every voter. The morning after the election a detailed statement of the vote in the division was sent to every voter. The result of the work was shown by an 83 per cent vote. At four of the preceding six elections the vote was 40 per cent, at one of them 60 per cent, and at another (the last presidential election) 78 per cent. A twenty-four page hand-book, giving digests of the rules of the Republican and Democratic parties, a list of election offices, with present incumbents, election statistics, a list of voters in the division, a political roster for the year 1902, etc., is now in press. Every effort has been made to do the printing in an attractive though not expensive way. Work for the spring campaign began the day after the last election.

Cincinnati.—*Refunding; Special Legislation.*[1] At the recent November election the electors of the city by a vote of two to one authorized the trustees of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad (Cincinnati to Chattanooga, Tenn., 335 miles) to extend the present lease now held by the Cincinnati, New Orleans and Texas Pacific Railroad Company, for a period of sixty years, beginning July 1, 1906, at a rental of $1,050,000 per annum during the first twenty years, $1,100,000 during the second period of twenty years, and $1,200,000 per annum during the third period of twenty years. The existing lease, yielding

[1] Contributed by Max B. May.

$1,250,000 per annum, does not expire until July 1, 1906. Rent of $1,050,000 per annum will be paid annually; the remaining $200,000 per annum will be paid at the rate of $40,000 per annum in quarterly installments of $10,000 each until paid; deferred payments bearing three per cent interest. The lessee will build terminal facilities at an expense of $2,500,000, authority being granted at the election to issue bonds of the city for that purpose. The lessee must provide for the interest and redemption of these bonds. The great advantage to the city in the extension of the lease is the opportunity of refunding outstanding railroad bonds bearing a high rate of interest at a much lower interest. When the bonds were originally issued the rate was 7 3-10 per cent, 7 per cent, 6½ per cent and 5 per cent; it is now confidently expected that as these bonds mature they can be refunded at a rate not exceeding 3½ per cent.

The election in other respects was uneventful. The success of the Republicans throughout the state is not propitious for the new municipal code which will be submitted to the legislature in January, 1902.

The new legislature will be called upon to meet the important question of uniform classification of cities. Within the past few months the supreme court of the state has declared unconstitutional many laws especially drawn to meet local conditions. Many improvements contemplated are necessary and imperative, therefore unless a new constitutional classification of cities can be provided, great inconvenience will result.

San Francisco.—*The Charter of 1900.*[1] The new charter of the city and county of San Francisco went into full effect in January, 1900, under a body of officials elected in accordance with its provisions. From the municipal reports for the first year of the new régime, from observation of its general workings, and from conference with representative men of the city, it is possible to form a fairly accurate judgment of the relative merits of the existing order. Even with all the imperfections which have been brought out by experience, the charter is undoubtedly working well. Those who criticise most severely the men and measures of this first administration under its provisions, admit that the present is a great improvement over any previous government in almost every particular. Barring some friction in the Board of Police Commissioners over the election of a chief of police, which resulted in the removal of one of the members, the new machinery has worked without serious difficulty and with no more considerable scandals than those originating mainly in the offices of the personal and partisan press.

Civil Service. The operation of the sweeping and stringent pro-

[1] Contributed by Professor Kendric Charles Babcock, University of California.

visions of the charter relating to the civil service has been both disappointing and gratifying. The enemies of the reform, aided by the over-zealousness of the Civil Service Commission in the application of their rules to places already filled, soon took the matter into the state courts. Five distinct suits were begun, and every effort made to overthrow "objectionable provisions." Last spring the Supreme Court handed down two decisions: one affirmed unanimously the validity of the municipal merit system, the other decided by a bare majority of the court that the civil service provisions of the charter could not be applied to county offices like those of sheriff, assessor, recorder, and county clerk, which were regulated by general state law. The two systems will thus have a fair trial side by side in the same city hall. Somewhat more than three hundred out of the sixteen hundred positions put by the charter under municipal civil service, are now filled by appointees from the commission's eligible list. All the evidence thus far gives the advocates of the merit system much satisfaction.

Bond Issue. Just before the charter went into effect, the people of the city voted to issue $11,000,000 of bonds for a new sewer system, new hospital, new school buildings, and an extensive enlargement of the park system. As the city had practically no funded debt at all, this was not venturing out any great distance upon the dangerous sea of debt. But here again the Supreme Court was appealed to, and decided that the method by which the bonds were voted, was illegal, being in accordance with an act of 1889 which, so far as San Francisco was concerned, had been superseded by the different method provided by the charter which went into effect after the bond election, but before the bonds could be issued. No other bond election has been held, therefore the much-needed improvements must wait.

Initiative. One experience with the radical provision of the charter providing for initiative and referendum, is decidedly instructive. For climatic and other reasons, San Francisco is afflicted with year-round racing and coursing, and a very large number of persons is more or less interested in gambling on these races. The Board of Supervisors refused to pass an ordinance legalizing pool-selling in the downtown districts. The pool-sellers thereupon proposed to the people, by petition, with the required number of signatures, an ordinance giving the desired privileges, and it was only by most vigorous agitation through mass meetings and the press, that the proposed ordinance was defeated at the November election by the decisive majority of three thousand. This is the only instance where the initiative has been tried here, and it is not likely to be used again immediately.

Buenos Aires.—*Municipal Statistics.* There are in the United States many cities that publish readable and clear statements of municipal conditions. There are many other large cities which do not seem to appreciate the importance of instructing citizens in the details of administration. It may be of interest to cite here the *Monthly Bulletin of Municipal Statistics* of the city of Buenos Aires. It contains six double pages, in which are found the following: I. *Meteorological Observations.* II. *Movement of Population:* hospitals and homes, lunatic asylums, registry of prostitutes, hospital movement, crematory, night shelters; demography—births, marriages and deaths, according to age, cause and sex; deaths, according to nationality, condition, sex; epidemics and tubercular diseases by district and by house, whether private, tenement or public establishment. Articles of food received by 35 markets and 596 butchers' shops, and result of inspection of foods, water supply, bakers' shops; police and prison statistics with cause for commitment are stated.

Under *Economy* are given by parishes the properties sold, their areas in thousand square feet, the value of sales in paper dollars, and the average value in dollars per one thousand square feet of ground; by parishes also the real estate mortgaged, area and value. Venders and purchasers are given by nationality as are mortgagers and mortgagees, together with amounts of mortgages bought and sold. The value of gold and the rates of exchange, together with proceedings of stock exchange, trade marks registered and patents are given.

Under *Locomotion*, statistics appear with reference to horse and electric traction according to the company in control; the number of companies, engines, coaches, cars, passengers and mileage; also municipal licenses granted on various vehicles from private coaches to hand carts.

Under *Sundries* are facts of interest with regard to licenses granted for dogs, pistol shootings, bicycle riding, magic lanterns, gondolas, etc.; dispatches sent and received by telegraph, telephone and messenger service; details as to races, ball courts, theatres, libraries, loans and savings at Municipal Savings Bank and Mont de Pieté; postal traffic and parcels post; education, drainage, garbage plants, incinerators, street sweepings, irrigation and municipal inspection It appears that the population of Buenos Aires was on January 31, 1901, 824,158.

II. SOCIOLOGY.

National Prison Congress.—The thirtieth annual meeting of the National Prison Congress met at Kansas City, October 9–13. The central idea of the congress has been that punishment should be reformatory and not vindictive, and to accomplish this end it has advocated the indeterminate sentence, parole laws, the classification and segregation of classes upon the basis of degree of criminality, a separation of the criminal insane and imbecile, and has favored the adoption of the Bertillon system of measurements to identify criminals.

Subjects relating to most of these features were discussed in this congress. The separation of the imbecile and insane was advocated especially with reference to cases where expert judgment would be necessary to detect imbecility and insanity. The unreasonableness of treating such people as those who are fully accountable for their acts was pointed out.

The restrictions placed upon prison management by legislatures owing to the imaginary evils of competition of convict with other labor were condemned as injurious to the interests both of prison reform and the taxpayers. The paper by Dr. Smith, of St. Paul, on the psychological aspect of crime was interesting as a denial of the physical basis of crime. Perhaps the most interesting as well as the most scientific paper of the congress was read by Mr. Brockway, of the Elmira Reformatory, on the prevention of crime. The removal of crime was considered impossible. The social reaction against crime to preserve order is inevitable. All progress was described as a product of activities born of conflict, and opposition to crime as but a phase of the common struggle of humanity for existence and growth. The causes producing crime were grouped under two heads: 1. Defective human beings ill-adapted to the existing social order; and 2, faults of the social order. In the latter case, society has much to do in removing the weak from temptation. The keynote of this address as well as the sentiment of the congress was expressed in the following sentence: "The state would profit in restraint of crime if the sinful estimate of offenders could be eliminated from the statutes and from our attitude as well, leaving only to impel and guide all efforts the principle of defenses."

The discordant note of the congress was sounded by Mr. Felton, of the police department of Chicago. In his address he claimed that crime is increasing, that new crimes are being introduced, that criminals are becoming more shrewd, and that the moral standards of communities are being lowered. He opposed the indeterminate sentence

and the parole system, and favored harsher laws dealing with criminals. These views were shared by other members of police departments.

The difference in point of view is interesting when viewed in the light of representation of different camps. Members of police departments deal with criminals while their criminal propensities are being exercised; the wardens and others connected with reformatory institutions, on the other hand, deal with them while under definite control.

Before adjourning the congress passed resolutions urging Congress to enact both general parole and indeterminate sentence laws.

The Italians of Columbus—A Study in Population.[1]—The Italian element in the United States is yearly increasing at an enormous rate. Italy is to-day sending more immigrants to this country than is any other foreign nation. In 1860 there were but 10,518 Italians in the United States, to-day there are about 950,000. The United States census statistics show about 1,879 Italian immigrants in the decade 1841–1850 against 307,309 in the decade 1881–1890, and 658,811 in the decade 1891–1900. Of our total immigration during the statistical year ending June 30, 1901, 24.5 per cent was from Italy; during the year 1900, 20.1 per cent; 1899, 24.8 per cent; 1898, 25.5 per cent; 1897, 21.3 per cent; 1896, 19.8 per cent; 1895, 13.2 per cent; 1894, 13.9 per cent; 1893, 14.4 per cent; 1892, 9.9 per cent; and in 1891, 13.5 per cent.

The vast majority of Italian immigration is from southern Italy, which also supplies the worst elements. The arrival of such a race upon our shores in ever-increasing numbers makes it important to inquire into their condition and their ability to become good and intelligent citizens of the United States. The materials for this study are drawn, not from the overcrowded tenements of New York or Chicago, but from an examination of the condition of the Italians in Columbus, the capital of Ohio, a city with a population of about one hundred and fifty thousand. The Italians in Columbus number about eleven hundred. This number is increasing at the rate of about one family per month. Representatives may be found from almost every province in Italy, but the majority have come from Sicily or Campania. Four-fifths of all the Italians in Columbus claim to have come from Sicily and Naples and about one-fifth from all the other provinces combined. Of this one-fifth the greater number are from Calabria, next from Tuscany, Genoa and Rome. The writer has been

[1] Contributed by Grace Leonore Pitts, Fellow in Economics and Sociology, Ohio State University.

unable to find any Italians in the city who are from northern Italy proper.

When asked why they have come to this country the most frequent reply is, "To make money." Every one has said that he had friends or relatives over here before he came, and had been told by these that both work and money were plentiful. A few have come here to escape military service. In Italy the eldest son, and after that every second son, must serve three years in the army or four years in the navy.

Many of the Italians have mortgaged their farms and homes to come here. In many instances the head of the family has come first and in one or two years has sent for his wife and children. With the exception of about one hundred Italians at the stone quarries, three miles west of the city, almost all of the Italians have their families with them. Few of those who have settled in Columbus have any intention of going back to the old country to live. Last year four families returned to Italy with the intention of remaining, but they were not contented and are to-day back in Columbus. The Italians in the city, especially the Sicilians and Neapolitans, are more or less closely related one to another, and this is another tie to bind them to this country. Sooner or later the Italian becomes a naturalized citizen of the United States, but he cares very little for politics. He makes a quiet, law-abiding citizen.

The Italians have chosen their homes in Columbus according to the sociological law of association. They are clannish and live close together. In one square eleven families may be found living in five small houses. The houses usually consist of five small rooms, with perhaps a shed kitchen. In one of these houses of five rooms there are three families, containing twenty-three members: one boarder, one family with six children and two families with five children each.

The Italians, especially the Sicilians, dislike to pay much for house rent. Three dollars a month for one family seems to them an extravagant amount. This explains the doubling up in the houses. Although living crowded together almost every house contains one good room, with lace curtains, which is used for a parlor and bedroom and is often on the second floor.

To save rent one Italian groceryman uses the front room of the house for a store. It is so crowded with merchandise that when a few extra orange crates are placed in the centre of the floor there is scarcely standing room and the odors must remind one of sunny Italy itself. There are four rooms in this house besides the one used for the store. One of them is rented for $3.00 a month to a male boarder who takes care of it himself. The other three are used by the storekeeper

as a home for himself and family of six. The middle room downstairs is used as parlor and bedroom for the father, mother and baby, and the back room serves as dining room and kitchen. The four boys sleep in the remaining room upstairs. The house rents for $10.00 a month, thus leaving but $7.00 paid for store and house rent.

So many live in small quarters because they intend to return to Italy, and every economy in rent, in furniture, etc., shortens the time when they will have enough to return. As they become adapted to American life they abandon the idea of going back and separate, living one family in a house. If the old people do not do this their children do so when they grow up and marry. There is revealed here a slow but steady progress toward a higher standard of living.

The Italians living outside of the chief settlement are not Sicilians. They are chiefly policemen and laborers in the railroad yards. They have just about as many children and as untidy ones as the Sicilians but their standard of living is somewhat higher. Besides these there are a few families scattered over the city, especially those who live near their place of business, as the saloon keepers. Those that are scattered speak the English language and consider themselves Americans rather than Italians.

At the Marble Cliff Stone Quarries (three miles west of the city) there are about one hundred Italians; but few of these are married and those that are live in little frame shanties. Many of the single men live at the "Italian Club." Each man does his own cooking and housework. Some of the men have separate rooms but the majority room together. Here each man has a single cot. In some cases white blankets with red or blue borders are used and lace curtains serve for spreads. In these rooms (examined while the men were at work) everything was neat and orderly; the clothing was hung up and in many cases efforts toward the artistic were visible. Pictures of Saints adorned the rough plank walls, towels with the owner's name embroidered in large red letters were hanging upon the rack, and newspapers cut out in fancy scallops covered the wooden shelves. The back rooms downstairs are used as kitchens and dining rooms. Each man does his own cooking and pays $1.00 a month for rent.

Very few of the Italians intermarry with other nationalities. There are not more than twenty instances of such in the city and these have been mostly of Italian men with German or Irish girls. The majority of such cases of intermarriage have been among the saloon keepers who are located in various parts of the city and come into closer contact with other peoples than any of the other Italians. Thus bonds of sympathy, other than those of nationality, have formed these unions.

The men who came to America unmarried have usually returned to Italy for a bride or have married Italian girls who were in this country. The Italians retain in this country their native custom of giving each daughter a dowry of from three to four hundred dollars. In large families there are sometimes three or four daughters to be provided for and this means about a thousand dollars, a very large sum for a poor man.

It is almost impossible for the old people to adopt American ways, but their children as they grow up and learn the English language and associate with American children soon begin to imitate them and in time the Italian is assimilated although not as rapidly as the German or Irishman.

The occupations of the Italians in Columbus may be grouped as follows:

1. Manufacturing.	
(*a*) Show Case and Bar Manufacture Company . .	1
2. Trade.	
(*a*) Commission house	1
(*b*) Saloons	20
(*c*) Groceries	2
(*d*) Fruit venders	50
(*e*) Hucksters	6
(*f*) Railroad laborers	50
3. Agriculture and Mining.	
(*a*) Laborers at stone quarries	100
(*b*) Small truck farmers	5
4. Public Service.	
(*a*) Policemen	3
(*b*) Firemen	3
(*c*) Laborers on public works	Very few.
5. Professional.	
(*a*) Professor of the harp	1
(*b*) Priest	1
(*c*) Organ grinders	10

The Italians engage in only the most primitive industries. The grocery stores are very inferior and are patronized only by the Italian and the colored. They are so small, dirty and overloaded with fruit crates that it is almost impossible for three people to find standing room in the centre of the store. There are about twenty Italian saloons in the city. These are not owned by the Sicilian element, but by those who have come from the provinces further north. These men have

accumulated large sums of money and some of them have invested in property in this city.

The fruit venders are for the most part Sicilians. This seems to be their peculiar occupation. The profits to be made in the fruit business are uncertain. Some days they lose money, others they barely meet expenses, and on others they make as high as $20 and $30. Almost all of these Sicilians own their own horses and wagons, and in telling how much profit they make they never fail to deduct the expense of keeping the horse. Their stable is usually a shed in the back yard. In the summer time a few of these hire farms and raise green vegetables for the market. They live in the city and go out to the farm during the day. Their wives or sons take their place upon the market. One Italian woman sells as high as $80 worth of fruit and vegetables in one day.

Another occupation that belongs especially to the Italian is the playing of street pianos. These Italians usually travel in twos from city to city. There are only one or two who make Columbus their permanent home. The majority of these travel for a Pittsburg company and receive about $1.50 a day.

The only place where there is real competition between the Italians and other nationalities is in the work at the stone quarries and on the railroads. The Italians in Columbus do not work under the padrone system, neither do they work for less wages than any other nationality. At the stone quarries their wages range from seventy-five cents per day for water boys to $2 for the blacksmith. They do a simple kind of work, but they do it because they are needed. The Taylor Bell Stone Quarry Company aims to have 40 per cent of their laborers Italian, as they are the most reliable wage-earners that they can hire.

Many people claim that the wage-earners of other nationalities suffer from competition with the Italians owing to their low standard of living. It has been shown that this is not true in Columbus. Neither is their standard of living so low as many think. They do not care as much for meat as other peoples do, as they are not accustomed to it in Italy. They seldom have beef or veal (they do not care for pork at all) more than two or three times a week. Many of the Sicilians were fishermen in the old country and they still retain their love for salt water fish. Regularly three times a week the Italian grocery on Third Street receives from Boston a large barrel of fish, usually mackerel and bass. These they cook in olive oil. They are also fond of fowls and eggs. In place of meats they also use vegetable soups, especially bean, tomato and macaroni. As luxuries they use green vegetables, sardines, artichokes and olives. In cooking they use a great deal of lard and olive oil, garlic and very little milk.

For beverages they usually use coffee for breakfast and wine for dinner and supper. Some of them make their own wine from the pure juice of grapes. The greater part of their wine is sent here from California and costs about thirty-five cents per gallon. As a substitute for wine they often use beer, but either beverage is used moderately. The greatest economy among the Italians is in house rent.

The Italians have many good qualities and improve them as opportunities arise. They are a hard-working, industrious, temperate and frugal people. At no time has there ever been an Italian in the county infirmary. If the first generation cannot become assimilated with the American people the second or third will. Every symptom points toward this, although the Italian is too new an element in our population to have proved this conclusively.

III. NOTES ON COLONIES AND COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

The New Tax Decision.—Attention has already been called in the ANNALS to the recent decisions of the Supreme Court dealing with the constitutionality of the taxes imposed on articles imported from Porto Rico. Since the treaty with Spain, and since the passage of the Foraker Act of April 12, 1900, respectively, the power of Congress to levy a tax on articles imported from the new possessions into the United States was well settled by these decisions. In the Diamond Rings case, decided on December 2, 1901, a somewhat different question was involved, namely, Were the Philippines a foreign country in the language of the Dingley Act, which levied duties upon goods "imported from foreign countries"? Emile J. Pepke, a soldier returning from the Philippines in January, 1899, brought with him fourteen diamond rings, which were seized by the customs authorities at Chicago on the ground that duty had not been paid. Pepke maintained that the Philippines were not a foreign country subsequent to the treaty of peace. The court upheld this view, declaring that the point involved was not substantially different from that decided in *De Lima* v. *Bidwell*, a Porto Rican case. This confirmation of the doctrine announced in the De Lima case may be said to place the status of the new territories and ceded districts in a clear light. By the treaty of cession the Philippines ceased to be foreign country, in spite of the resolution passed by the Senate after the ratification of the treaty, a resolution declaring "that by the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain it is not intended to incorporate the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands into citizenship of the United States, nor is it intended to permanently annex said islands as an integral part of the territory of the United States; but it is the intention of the United States to establish on said islands a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants of said islands, to prepare them for local self-government, and in due time to make such disposition of said islands as will best promote the interests of the United States and the inhabitants of said islands." The court declares that this resolution "is absolutely without legal significance on the question before us. The meaning of the treaty cannot be controlled by subsequent explanations by some of those who may have voted to ratify it." The court rejects the contention made by the representatives of the government that the armed resistance of the native inhabitants of the Philippines created a distinction between the Philippines and Porto Rico. "We must decline to assume that the government wishes thus to disparage the title of the United States, or to place itself in the

position of waging a war of conquest. . . . We do not understand that it is claimed that in carrying on the pending hostilities the government is seeking to subjugate the people of a foreign country, but, on the contrary, that it is preserving order and suppressing insurrection in territory of the United States."

An interesting result of the great divergence of opinion existing among the Justices of the Supreme Court is seen in the contention of the legal representatives of the United States in the suit that the ruling in *De Lima* v. *Bidwell* should not be given full weight as a precedent, because one of the five Justices making up the majority of the court in that decision also concurred in the *Downes* v. *Bidwell* decision, which affirmed the constitutionality of the Congressional act taxing goods imported into the United States from Porto Rico, while the other four members of the majority in the De Lima case dissented from the ruling in the Downes case. In its recent decision the Supreme Court declares that this fact by no means invalidates or detracts from the weight of the De Lima decision.

At the same time the court handed down an opinion in another action brought by Henry W. Dooley, of San Juan, Porto Rico, to recover duties paid upon merchandise imported into Porto Rico from the United States since the passage of the Foraker Act on the ground that the duties levied were unconstitutional, being in violation of Article 1, Section 9, of the Constitution: "No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state." The decision turned upon the question, Is a tax on articles imported into Porto Rico from the United States in reality a tax upon exports from any state in the meaning of the Constitution? The court holds that such duties were taxes levied upon imports into Porto Rico rather than upon exports from the United States. "Now, while an import into one port almost necessarily involves a prior export from another, still, in determining the character of the taxed imports, it is important to consider whether the duty be laid for the purpose of adding to the revenues of the country from which the export takes place or for the benefit of the territory into which they are imported." Applying this test it is found that the duties were levied solely for the benefit of Porto Rico.

The more important decisions thus far rendered, on the taxation of imports to and from the new dependencies, may be thus summarized:

First—Previous to the signing of the treaty of peace, and while a district is in the possession of the military arm of the government, the restrictions of the Constitution in general do not apply, and the territory is for all practical intents and purposes part of a foreign country.

Second.—After the treaty of peace providing for the cession of the

territory to the United States, and previous to legislation on the subject by Congress, the territory may not be regarded as foreign in the sense of our customs laws, therefore import duties levied on "goods coming from foreign countries" do not apply to imports from such territories or districts.

Third.—Congress may, however, by legislation, levy duties on goods coming from such territories.

Fourth.—Such duties levied by Congress need not be uniform.

Fifth.—Congress or the legislature of the territory may by law levy duties upon articles imported into the territory from the United States without violating the constitutional prohibition against duties on goods exported from the United States.

Proposed Changes in German Colonial Government.—In a previous number of the ANNALS a brief summary of German colonial conditions was given, showing that the character of the government lacked entirely any element of representation from the side of the colonies. Considerable discussion has recently been excited in Germany by the proposals of Professor Hans Meyer in reference to the further development of the German colonial system. Professor Meyer has made a study of the French and English colonial finances and finds that in England especially, and recently also in France, the practice has been adopted of introducing at the earliest possible moment an independent budget for each colony, so that receipts and expenditures shall be balanced. This practice he contrasts with the German policy of making considerable appropriations from the imperial budget to the African colonies. Professor Meyer also suggests that colonial councils, composed of prominent colonists, should be established for the purpose of advising the central government and as a basis for the development of local self-government in later years. Briefly summarized, the more important points of the plan or program proposed are as follows:

First.—For each dependency an advisory body should be provided to assist the governor. This council should be not only an advisory body, but for important matters affecting the dependency should be given powers of decision. Where possible a part at least of the council should be elected by the German citizens in the colony.

Second.—The system of local communal councils for advisory and other purposes, which has already been established in East Africa, should be extended to other dependencies.

Third.—The governor and council should constitute a legislative body, which should have the power to determine all financial matters connected with the local administration of the dependency.

Fourth.—Colonial expenses should be determined by receipts, the

colonial budget being drawn up by the governor and council subject to the approval of the home government. No purely colonial expenditures should be undertaken by the imperial government; the responsibility of the latter should be limited to undertakings of a nature affecting the empire.

Fifth.—The colonies should retain a common agency in Germany, for the purpose of making contracts for public works, superintending the purchase of material needed in the colonies, etc., after the English fashion.

These proposals, which originally appeared in an article published in the *Tägliche Rundschau*, have especially attracted the attention of the German Colonial Society, and are being eagerly discussed by the colonial experts in the *Deutsche Kolonial Zeitung*, the official organ of the society.

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THE TAXATION OF CORPORATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Questions of taxation in the United States are becoming every year more important, more complex and more difficult of solution. State tax commissions have recently gone over the whole field in New York, Massachusetts and Michigan; in Ohio and Illinois taxation is a political issue. The most difficult part of the problem relates to the taxation of corporations, and a correct solution of this question would help very much in supplying the answers to several others.

There are a great many ways of taxing corporations, none of which satisfy entirely the demands of both theory and practice, even where the property and business taxed are confined to a single state. For the present discussion we may distinguish three methods: (1) The taxation of net receipts, (2) the taxation of tangible wealth plus franchise, (3) the taxation of the concern on a valuation equal to the sum of the values of the stock and bonds. Theoretical justice requires, first, that the tax shall reach the actual income earning power of the business, and, secondly, that the burden shall be equitably apportioned among the parties that receive the income. Now it is evident that the first method of

taxing a corporation reaches the income of the stockholders, but does not touch that of the bondholders. The stockholders pay no more than they ought to. The bondholders, however, if they are not taxed through the corporation, are not likely to be found, and so are not taxed at all.[1] The second method of taxation reaches, on the other hand, the whole effective income capacity of the business, but it does not provide for a proper adjustment of the burden between the stockholder and the bondholder. The stockholder only is taxed. But first we should see what is meant by the taxation of tangible wealth plus franchise. It is, of course, well recognized that a tax on tangible property only is generally insufficient. Many corporations have a large earning power with a small amount of tangible wealth. This is the case, for example, with an express company,[2] the tangible wealth of which consists, perhaps, of a few horses and wagons and warehouses, but whose earning power depends chiefly on its organization, contracts and good-will.[3] So, too, of telephone and telegraph companies or even of great producing and manufacturing corporations, such as the oil or steel combinations,[4] the tangible wealth is not an adequate measure of earning power. In the case of a street railway, the main source of wealth is usually found in the privileges or franchises which it enjoys in the use of the public highways.[5] If these concerns are to be taxed according to their ability it is obvious, and the fact has long been recognized, that they should contribute on the basis of a valuation which takes account of these things, just as they are bought and

[1] This form of property has increased enormously in recent years, notably with the great development of "industrial" securities. The loaning of money on bonds is substituted for the loaning of money on ordinary commercial paper and the change makes it possible to reach a creditor interest which was formerly even more difficult to discover and assess at the proper place.

[2] Cf. Rept. Ohio Tax Commission, 1893, p. 48.

[3] Adams Express Co. *v.* Ohio St. Aud., 166 U. S. 185.

[4] Cf. Rept. Industrial Commission, p. 13, and testimony there cited.

[5] Cf. Howe: Taxation of Corporations. ANNALS AMER. ACAD., September, 1899, p. 15. Cf. Report of Maltbie in recent issue (1901) of Municipal Affairs on the Street Railway Franchises in Chicago.

sold in the market on such a basis.[1] The taxation of tangible wealth plus franchise means this and nothing more. The franchise may consist of a legal privilege of a monopolistic character, or it may consist simply of the advantages of business organization and connection, or it may combine both.[2] The third method of reaching the ability of a corporation mentioned above is the taxation of stock plus bonds. The theory of this valuation is briefly as follows: The stock plus the bonds equal the total value of the property standing in the name of the company, and the shareholders and bondholders are considered as creditors and claimants for the total income over operating expenses, etc.,—the former taking a contingent and indeterminate profit, the latter a definite interest payment. This tax is usually levied on the corporation itself, and the shareholder and bondholder are exempted. In these last two cases the stockholders practically bear the full burden of the tax, and the bondholders, the creditors of the corporation, escape. In the first case, on the other hand, the shareholders pay no more than theory demands, but the wealth under the control of the corporation is not reached fully until the bondholders, who draw their interest from it, are taxed also, individually. Under certain conditions (*i.e.*, when the bondholders reside in the state) it is possible to reach both stockholders and bondholders through a tax on the corporation. This may be done by requiring the treasurer of the corporation to deduct the proper portion of the tax from the interest payment due to the bondholders.

The difficulties are great enough when the corporations operate in only one state and the bondholders and stockholders are all residents. The situation is much more difficult, however, when interstate complications of business or ownership appear. Each one of these methods of taxation meets with difficulties either of an economic or constitutional

[1] Cf. important decision recently rendered (October, 1901) by the Supreme Court of Illinois, Chicago Teacher's Tax Case.

[2] Note the definition of "special franchise" in the N. Y. Ford Franchise Law. It includes the tangible wealth. See Municipal Affairs, June, 1899.

character. It is obvious that it would be impracticable, economically, as it would be impolitic and unjust, legally, to tax them in each state for the whole value of their business. No state should tax the receipts from business, even of a domestic corporation, except in so far as they are obtained from business in the state. Yet this principle is sometimes violated.[1] Difficulties arise with respect to the taxation of tangible wealth plus franchise. The state wherein the corporation is domiciled may tax it to the full extent of its faculty, and yet it may have tangible wealth in other states where it is doing business which is taxed there. So, too, the latter state, taxing only tangible wealth, may not reach the faculty of the corporation in proportion to the amount of business done within its borders.[2] On this last point a very important decision has been recently rendered. An attempt was made by the authorities of the State of Ohio to tax a foreign express company on the intangible values of its business in the state. The court upheld the tax.[3]

Difficulties of a similar nature appear also in respect to the third method of taxation. For example, one state may tax a domestic corporation on a valuation equal to the sum of the values of the stock and bonds, and in another state the same corporation may be taxed on its tangible wealth situated there, or on its receipts earned there, or in some similar way involving double taxation to a greater or less degree; so that here as in the two former cases the proper rule,—taxation according to the means of obtaining revenue situated in the state,—is violated.

[1] Cf. Walker, Double Taxation, 125.

[2] Cf. Walker, *op. cit.*, 115–116.

[3] According to the statement of facts given, the company's shares were worth at least $16,800,000; the real estate of the company was declared to be worth $3,036,327.52, and the tangible personalty $1,159,491.05. This left at least $12,610,181.43 of intangible values, and it was claimed that a part of this should be taxed in Ohio. The court say: "Where is the situs of this intangible property? Is it simply where its home office is, where is found the central directing thought which controls the workings of the great machine, or in the state which gave it its corporate franchise; or is that intangible property distributed where its tangible property is located and its work done? Clearly, as we think, the latter." Adams Express Co. *v.* State Aud., 166 U. S. 185 (1896).

In all these cases, moreover, obstacles of another sort restrict or prevent a full or fair assessment by the state authorities. These difficulties are of a constitutional character. The law is very complicated, and to attempt a full exposition of it would be inappropriate here, but there are a few leading principles which for the present purpose can be stated briefly with a fair degree of accuracy. The first principle to be noted is that which affects the third form of assessment—taxation of the corporation on stock plus bonds. The courts have held that it is lawful to tax the shares of stock or the capital stock of a corporation to the corporation itself, no matter where its business is done,[1] or to the shareholders, whether they all live within the state or not;[2] but in the case of bonds, the opposite rule obtains, and the states are inhibited from taxing the bonds in the hands of the bondholders in so far as they are held by non-residents.[3] It is still allowable to tax the corporation on the basis of stock and bonds, provided that they are used simply as a means of gauging the value of the business, but the whole burden of the tax comes then on the stockholders, while the bondholders, so far as their interest is concerned, go scot free, though perhaps they may be taxed elsewhere. This is an unfortunate situation, since it prevents the states from establishing the tax in such a manner as will bear equally upon all faculties. If it is objected to this view that the bondholder will be taxed where he resides, the difficulty is by no means obviated, for to tax the corporation at its total value, estimated in this way, and to tax the bondholder on what the corporation owes him, is double taxation. On the

[1] Peo. *v.* Horn Silver Mining Co., 105 N. Y. 76. Cf. Walker, *op. cit.*, 122–3.

[2] Tappan *v.* Merchant's Nat. Bk., 19 Wall. 490; First Nat. Bk. *v.* Mendota, 65 Ill. 44. Cf. Walker, *op. cit.*, 104–5.

[3] Foreign Held Bonds Case, 15 Wall. 300. "It is a right that is personal to the creditor where he resides, and the residence or place of business of his debtor is immaterial. The power of taxation, however vast its character, is necessarily limited to subjects within the jurisdiction of the state." In a very recent case, a state tax on a mortgage secured by realty situated in the state, the mortgage interest being declared to be real estate was upheld, although the mortgagee was a non-resident. Savings Soc. *v.* Multnomah Co., 169 U. S. 421.

other hand, if the rule of valuation is changed, and the state where the corporation is doing business taxes the corporation only on the capital stock, then the state may be deprived of the revenue from a large amount of wealth situated within its jurisdiction. In the case of a railroad, for example, the bonds may represent almost the whole value of the tangible wealth—property which has been mortgaged to such an extent as to leave very little value to be represented by the stock.

But there is another obstacle to uniform and equal taxation, which, so far as state taxation is concerned, seems well nigh insuperable. The difficulty here arises from the fact that the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the states is conferred by the constitution upon Congress, and the courts have declared that it belongs to Congress exclusively.[1] For brevity it will be sufficient hereafter to speak simply of interstate commerce, with the general understanding that the rules we shall have occasion to notice apply to foreign commerce also. This control granted to the Federal Government has been interpreted by the courts in such a way as seriously to limit the taxing powers of the states with respect to a great variety of corporations. If the states attempt to tax corporations on their receipts in the state, they may be met by the objection that such receipts are partly derived from interstate commerce and hence are not subject to taxation.[2] If the states attempt to tax foreign corporations (*i. e.*, corporations of other states or nations) upon their franchises, they may be met by the objection that the state has conferred no franchise, and hence cannot tax them thereon,[3] nor can they exclude them from doing business in the state, if their business is concerned

[1] Gibbons *v.* Ogden, 9 Wheat. 1.

[2] Fargo *v.* Mich., 121 U. S. 230; Phila. S. S. Co. *v.* Penn ., 122 U. S. 326.

[3] Peo. *v.* Equit. Trust Co., 96 N. Y. 387. Cooley quotes this case in the opposite sense; Taxation, p. 388, but the court say: "Nor could it be taxed on account of its corporate franchise, as that was not given by our laws its franchises exist only at the place of its domicile and residence." The court upheld the tax as a tax on business, but the above doctrine seems something more than *obiter*.

with interstate commerce,[1] nor can they impose a privilege tax upon such corporations for the right to do business in the state.[2] Further, though the states may tax corporations on the business they transact in the state,[3] they cannot tax either domestic or foreign corporations on their business so far as it is a matter of interstate commerce.[4] Such corporations may be taxed on their property in the state.[5]

These restrictions and limitations by no means exhaust the number which might be cited to show what difficulties exist in the way of bringing about a system of equal and uniform taxation. The result is that the states generally are deprived of the power to tax some corporations in an adequate and equitable manner, while those particular states in which the corporations are domiciled have sometimes powers of taxation which are far greater than they could exercise under any warrant of economic interest.[6]

It has been suggested that the Federal Government might by specific authorization allow the several states to exercise certain powers of control which would in part enable them to surmount these constitutional limitations.[7] Thus Professor Huffcut writes:

> Congress, in the exercise of its powers to regulate commerce among the states and with foreign nations, may remove the impediment to the operation of state laws upon such commerce. It may, therefore, remove the impediment to the operation of state laws upon corporations engaged in interstate or international commerce. This would commit the control of all domestic and foreign corporations to the legislature of that state.

[1] Pensacola Tel. Co. *v.* West. U. Tel. Co., 96 U. S. 1.

[2] Robbins *v.* Shelby Co. Taxing Dist., 120 U. S. 489; Gloucester Ferry Co. *v.* Penn., 114 U. S. 196.

[3] Peo. *v.* Equit. Trust Co., 96 N. Y. 387.

[4] Pickard *v.* Pullman Car Co., 117 U. S. 34.

[5] Gloucester Ferry Co. *v.* Penn., 114 U. S. 196; Adams Expr. Co. *v.* Ohio St. Aud., 166 U. S. 185.

[6] *E. g.*, New Jersey.

[7] Huffcut, Rept. Industrial Commission, I. 1215–16, citing as precedents Penn. *v.* Bridge Co., 18 How. 421; *In re* Rahrer, 140 U. S. 545; U. S. Rev. St. § 4280, 2 Stat. L. 205, U. S. Rev. St. §§ 4235, 4236, U. S. Rev. St. § 5219.

Now if Congress could give to the state legislatures the power to interfere with interstate commerce, as in authorizing a bridge which impeded navigation,[1] or in allowing a state to prohibit the importation of alcoholic liquors,[2] it certainly could authorize the state legislatures to tax such corporations, without respect to the limitations heretofore imposed on account of interstate commerce. In fact, as long as the states adopted a fair and equal assessment of all wealth, it would not amount to a real interference with interstate commerce. But there is a direct precedent for this authorization of taxation in the case of a corporation otherwise exempt (though on other grounds than interstate commerce). This is found in the law permitting the states to levy taxes on the shares of national banks.[3] Such authorization of taxation would not be in the nature of a delegation of the taxing power, which would without question be beyond the competence of Congress.[4] The Federal Government would simply declare that such and such appropriate methods of taxation should not be construed to be an unlawful regulation of commerce. Whether this could be done or not, it is quite clear that it would not, after all, completely satisfy the conditions for a just solution of the problem, because some states—*i. e.*, those wherein the corporations are domiciled, would have powers of taxation greater than they ought to be allowed to exercise. For example, the state which incorporated a railroad would still have the power to tax it on its total capital stock, although but a small portion of the road might be operated within its borders.[5]

Other schemes have been proposed. In 1890 Professor

[1] Penn. *v.* Bridge Co., 18 How. 421.

[2] *In re* Rahrer, 140 U. S. 545.

[3] Rev. St. § 5219.

[4] Cf. Cooley, Taxation, 61–3. "It does not admit of argument that Congress can neither delegate its own powers nor enlarge those of a state." *In re* Rahrer, 140 U. S. 545.

[5] Commw. *v.* Hamilton Mfg. Co., 94 Mass. 298; Peo. *v.* Home Ins. Co., 92 N. Y. 328; Del. Ry. Tax Case, 18 Wall. 208.

Seligman suggested that the taxation of corporations of an interstate character should be left to the Federal Government.[1] His suggestion was as follows:

If a tax on net receipts is the best tax, and if a state tax on net receipts be declared illegal, a national net receipts tax might be suggested. The federal law might impose a tax on net receipts providing for the levy, if necessary, by the commonwealth officials themselves, and apportioning the proceeds according to the mileage in each state.

The present writer, in 1895, proposed the following plan:[2]

Let the states, then, exempt from taxation all such corporations as possess that interstate character; let the United States levy a general tax on their capital stock and bonds, and require the treasurer of the corporation to pay the tax, and give to the corporations the right to deduct the tax paid on account of such bonds from the interest paid to the bondholders without regard to their residence. The proceeds of these taxes could then be distributed among the several states in which the corporations operated according to the extent of their business therein.

By calling such a tax a tax on the franchise of the corporation the United States could follow a precedent established during the Civil War, and would escape the objection that it was a direct tax. The tax on the bonds of the foreign bondholders (in this case non-American bondholders) could be justified under the rulings of the Supreme Court in two cases,[3] but even if a different interpretation were given to such a law (more in accordance with the decision in the Foreign Held Bonds Case) the main objects of the law would be achieved, in so far as the bonds were held in the United States, and in so far as the main problem in the distribution of the revenue among the states is concerned.

It is important to note also the recent proposal of Professor Taussig[4] that the states should tax corporations on either earnings or total value of securities (with the exemption from taxation of all such securities to the owners), and that

[1] Seligman, Pol. Sci. Quart., v, 464.

[2] Walker, *op. cit.*, 131. See also Miller, Journ. Pol. Econ., March, 1898, 235; McCrea, Annals Amer. Acad., May, 1900, 379.

[3] Ry. Co. *v.* Collector, 100 U. S. 595; U. S. *v.* Erie Ry. Co., 106 U. S. 327.

[4] Taussig, Taxation of Securities, Pol. Sci. Quart., March, 1899. Pp. 113, 122.

the Federal Government should tax the holders of corporation shares and bonds[1] on their income therefrom through the method of stoppage at the source (*i. e.*, from the treasurer of the corporation, who should deduct the tax from dividends and interest). This scheme does not involve the distribution of the proceeds of the federal tax among the states, but merely provides for the exercise of the concurrent taxing power of the National Government. This plan contemplates taxing the total productive capacity of the business, or the total value of it as represented by the stock plus the bonds, directly to the corporation by the state. It is clear that the full weight falls on the shareholders. The federal tax reaches both bondholder and shareholder. The result is that the shareholder is taxed twice and more than twice as heavily as the bondholder.

Recently Professor Seligman renewed his suggestion that the Federal Government should intervene to tax corporations engaged in interstate commerce and distribute the proceeds of the tax among the states according to the amount of business carried on within their jurisdiction.[2]

A question might arise here which the commentators do

[1] And he goes on to say: "It is a further question how far a tax in this form could be or should be extended to municipal and state bonds and to mortgage notes and other engagements of private individuals." It may be well to call attention to the fact that the discussion above has reference only to the taxation of corporations and their securities; so far as public stocks are concerned an entirely new series of limitations is found. The situation may be summarized as follows: (*a*) The United States may not tax its own bonds if it has exempted them in the contract (fifth amendment of the Constitution); (*b*) a state may not tax the bonds of the United States (R. S., § 3701; Weston *v.* Charleston, 2 Pet. 449); (*c*) the United States may not tax state bonds, nor the bonds of municipal corporations nor other state corporations of a public character (Mercantile Bank *v.* New York, 121 U. S. 138; Pollock *v.* Farmer's Loan and Trust Company, 157 U. S. 489); (*d*) but one state may tax residents on property consisting of the bonds of another state (Bonaparte *v.* Tax Court, 104 U. S. 592); (*e*) while the taxation by a state of its own bonds, held by a non-resident, the tax being imposed subsequent to the issue of the bonds, is an impairment of the obligation of contracts and void (Murray *v.* Charleston, 96 U. S. 432); (*f*) and *a fortiori* a state may not tax its own bonds, if it has exempted them in the loan contract (Constitution of United States, Art. I, § 10, amendment xiv; cf. Dartmouth College *v.* Woodward, 4 Wheat. 518). For the taxation of notes mortgages, etc., and the legal and economic difficulties connected therewith, see Walker, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 127–130.

[2] Seligman, Rept. Industrial Commission, IV, 602.

not seem to have considered, as to what would be the constitutional limitations on the Federal Government in the event of an attempt at such taxation and distribution. The only precedent for anything of this sort seems to be the distribution of the surplus revenue by the Federal Government in 1837, and it is well known that there was a grave difference of opinion as to the constitutionality of the proceeding.

Another objection might be raised which at first sight would seem to be of an even more serious character and perhaps insurmountable. How could the Federal Government bring about uniformity in this manner when the states still retain their original and undoubted constitutional powers to tax such corporations? These are large powers in some cases, in others more restricted, but still, within their field, powers which the Federal Government could not compel them to surrender. Nor could the states, in many cases, in view of their own constitutional requirements, surrender them or even agree to let them lie in abeyance.[1] Here seems to exist an objection to the plan which in its legal and practical aspects would render the whole thing abortive. It would appear, however, that this last difficulty could be met, at least in large measure. Since the corporations chiefly under consideration are operating in several states, and are, in most cases at least, engaged in some way in interstate commerce, they are by virtue of that interstate commercial activity subject to the regulation of Congress by the express terms of the Constitution. Now when the Federal Government determined to establish the present system of national banks with the right to issue notes, it was discovered that the scheme could be made effective only by doing away with the note circulations of the rival systems of state banks. This was easily accomplished (under certain constitutional powers authorizing Congress to regulate the currency) by laying a prohibitive tax of ten per cent on the note issues of

[1] Cf. *e. g.* California, Const., Art. XIII, §§ 1, 12¾; Peo. *v.* McCreery, 34 Cal. 432; Arkansas, Const., Art. XVI, §§ 5, 6, 7; Fletcher *v.* Oliver, 25 Ark. 289; Ohio, Const., Art. XII, § 2; Zanesville *v.* Richards, 5 O. S. 590, etc.

the state banks.[1] This tax has been upheld by the courts.[2] This device has suggested to those who seek to enlarge the control of the Federal Government in respect to corporations —in particular those who advocate the federal control of monopolistic combinations—a means of accomplishing their purpose which also furnishes a partial solution for the present problem. The plan simply stated is this: That the Federal Government shall provide that all corporations engaged in commerce among the states or with foreign countries shall be authorized to incorporate themselves under the laws of the United States, receiving thereby a federal charter and at the same time surrendering their state charters; that all state corporations carrying on such business shall be subjected to special federal taxation, or if necessary shall be prohibited from doing such business.[3]

Prof. Huffcut says:

> A corporation has no rights outside of the state of its origin except such rights as the state into which it goes is pleased to grant to it, except that the state into which it goes cannot deny it the right to engage in interstate commerce, because the state has no power over such commerce. In other words, it is not the strength of the corporation, but the impotence of the state, that enables the corporation to do such business within the territory of the state. But the National Government has precisely the power which is denied to the state. To it is committed the power to regulate interstate commerce. It therefore may do what the state may not do, forbid a corporation to engage in interstate commerce. . . . Congress, under the power to regulate commerce among the states, may fix the terms upon which corporations may conduct business or may prohibit them from engaging in it at all.

Whatever may be the practical business character of this plan there is no doubt, I think, that in its main elements it is legally possible. Certainly the United States can incorporate such organizations, and that, too, even when they are already organized under state charters, because this was

[1] Act of March 3, 1865, § 6.
[2] Veazie Bank *v.* Fenno, 8 Wall. 533.
[3] Huffcut, Rept. Industrial Commission, I, 1217–1219.

the method followed in the case of the national banks. It would appear also that the power to regulate commerce is ample enough to enable the Federal Government to prevent the state corporations from conducting such business. I do not think, however, that it is clear that the Federal Government could entirely control the state in the taxation of these new federal corporations. The constitutional limitations placed upon the states in this matter are not very clearly or satisfactorily determined. The best view seems to be that a state can tax the tangible wealth lying in its jurisdiction of a federal corporation, though not its franchise, and of course not its interstate commerce. Yet some of the cases go much further than this apparently, and recognize a right on the part of the Federal Government, if it chooses to exercise it, to exempt such corporations entirely.[1] It seems a rather extreme position, however, to say, for example, that a state could be prohibited from taxing the real estate of a federal corporation, at least where the business was chiefly a matter of private concern and private gain. In the situation contemplated the Federal Government would establish so many exemptions in this manner as seriously to affect the taxing powers of a state—a result which would be entirely contrary to the spirit and purpose of the Constitution. The extreme view stated above flows logically, however, from the dictum of Marshall that "the power to tax is the power to destroy." It is said that the taxing power is in its nature unlimited, and hence the only way to guard against its destructive application in such cases is to disallow it entirely. Yet this doctrine, it seems, is itself inconsistent, at least in its extreme application, with the fundamental doctrine that the taxing powers of the state and federal governments are concurrent. So far as the taxation of the tangible wealth of corporations operating under a federal charter is concerned,

[1] Van Allen *v.* Assessors, 3 Wall. 573; Cal. *v.* Pacific Ry. Co., 127 U. S. 1. Cf. Plehn. Property Tax in California, 126.

a more reasonable and practicable interpretation may be found in *Railway Co.* v. *Peniston.*[1]

> It is, therefore, manifest that exemption of federal agencies from state taxation is dependent, not upon the nature of the agents, or upon the mode of their constitution, or upon the fact that they are agents, but upon the effect of the tax; that is, upon the question whether the tax does in truth deprive them of power to serve the government as they were intended to serve it, or does hinder the efficient exercise of their power. A tax upon their property has no such necessary effect.

So if it were intended that the taxation of these corporations should be left entirely to the Federal Government the plan might be doomed to failure on this account. But, we may ask, would it be necessary under a system of federal charters to pursue the plan of federal taxation with all its attendant difficulties? Might not the existence of so large a degree of federal authority make it possible to offer another method of taxation, which would possess most of the advantages contemplated under the federal plan, and which would avoid the difficulties, legal and economic, which are evidently inherent in it? The Federal Government, it appears, might declare to the states that they could tax such federal corporations operating in their jurisdiction, while regulating the manner in which they should do it. In this way some states could be prevented from getting more than they had any reasonable right to, while others could get what they might justly claim on economic grounds, but which the commerce clause of the Constitution prevents them from obtaining at present.

If the system of state taxation of federal corporations under regulation of Congress were adopted, the question arises as to what would be the proper form of taxation, and here we encounter immediately a familiar difficulty. If the states wished to reach the total amount of wealth or profitable business in their jurisdictions they would have to adopt a tax on the total value, *e. g.*, tangible wealth plus fran-

[1] Ry. Co. *v.* Peniston, 18 Wall. 5.

chise. They could not tax the shareholders and bondholders severally for their respective interests, because the decision in the foreign held bonds case excludes from state taxation all non-resident bondholders, which makes it impracticable. To tax the net receipts would not reach the income value of the concern as a whole, but only the shareholder's interest.[1] On the other hand, the taxation of the tangible wealth plus the franchise would put the whole burden on the shareholders, and would thus fail in equity as between individuals, though it would accomplish a good deal in establishing a fair distribution among the states. A just consideration of the matter would seem to compel the conclusion that the increased competency derived from federal authorization would not enlarge the powers of the states to the extent of enabling them to tax foreign bondholders directly for their interest. In this single respect the system of federal taxation would be superior, because in that case the foreign bondholder would be one who was a non-resident of the United States;[2] the resident bondholders would be taxable, and that doubtless would include the large majority of them at the present time.[3] It might be better, therefore, to leave

[1] Provided, of course, the rate were the same as for other taxes.

[2] But Congress has never recognized this limitation, nor have the courts enforced it with respect to federal laws. Under the internal revenue system of the Civil War (Act of June 30, 1864, as amended July 13, 1866) certain corporations were taxed with respect to interest and dividend payments, though the same were made to "non-residents, whether citizens or aliens," with a specific provision that such taxes might be deducted from interest or dividend payments. This law was upheld in Railroad Co. *v.* Collector, 100 U. S. 595. The court say: "Whether, as a question of international law, this declaration would relieve the corporation from the obligation to pay its foreign bondholder the full sum for which it contracted we need not discuss; for this court, on all such subjects, is bound by the legislative and political departments of its own government." On this point see Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–27, and authorities there cited. In the income tax law of 1894 no exemption was made in favor of non-resident citizens (cf. §§ 54, 55), nor was this made a ground for declaring it unconstitutional (cf. Pollock *v.* Farmer's Loan and Trust Co., 157 U. S. 489). See also the English Income Tax.

[3] Cf. Bacon, Yale Review, November. 1900. Probably to-day foreign holdings in *corporation* bonds in the United States do not exceed one and three-quarters billions dollars. This is a small proportion of the total, since the aggregate of railway bonds in the United States for the fiscal year of 1900 amounts to more than three times as much ($5,645,000,000). Cf. Press Bulletin, Interstate Commerce Commission, July 11, 1901.

to the state governments the assessment and collection of taxes on the capital stock or net revenue of the corporations, and to establish federal taxation of corporate bonds, with the distribution of the proceeds among the states (if this were found to be constitutional) in such a manner as to compel the bondholders to pay taxes according to their faculty, and to give to each state its proper share as determined by the principle of economic interests.

If the system of federal taxation with a distribution of the proceeds among the states should be adopted, either in whole or in part, what should be the rule of such distribution? In his Essays on Taxation[1] Professor Seligman takes the view that the revenue accruing from any business or industry is subject to the claims of two parties—the jurisdiction where the business is carried on and the jurisdiction wherein those who draw the revenue from the business reside. So far as the taxation of tangible wealth or business is concerned, the tendency to-day is to accept the rule that they should be taxed by the jurisdiction of actual situs. In this respect each state would depend on its own resources. Because the owner of such property or enterprises is an "absentee," he has no claim to be exempted on any part of his investment. Of course a person who has investments in many places could not help being an absentee owner in respect to some of them. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the jurisdiction of residence may not be willing, cannot afford, perhaps, to permit residents who enjoy the protection of its laws and the benefits of its public improvements and cultural expenditures a total exemption from contribution, but in this case the measure of contribution should not be faculty but benefits; that is, it should be measured by the extent of these privileges enjoyed. This would be best established by an entirely independent system of taxation which should accept as its typical forms

[1] Seligman, Essays on Taxation, 236–7; cf. Adams, Finance, 313–314; Bastable Public Finance 304; Schanz, Finanz-Archiv, 1892, II. s. 11; Cohn, Science of Finance, §§ 223–227.

taxes on expenditure, fees and special assessments.[1] Quite in harmony with this view, as far as it goes, is the recommendation of the Massachusetts Tax Commission of 1897 that a tax should be levied on all occupiers on rentals above a certain amount.[2] Such taxes ought not, generally speaking, to apply to business corporations, but they might apply to corporations not organized for gain as well as natural persons resident in the jurisdiction.

Assuming that Congress should attempt some such regulation of corporations as has been considered, how far would it be able to enforce uniformity of taxation, either by exercising the taxing power directly, or by enlarging and controlling the exercise of it by the states? In the first place, how far would the commerce clause cover corporate enterprise? What is commerce? Marshall says,[3] "Commerce undoubtedly is traffic, but it is something more; it is intercourse. The word used in the Constitution comprehends navigation within its meaning." And Cooley writes:[4]

> The word commerce is not limited to traffic; to buying and selling and the exchange of commodities; but it comprehends navigation also, and all that is included in commercial intercourse between nations and parts of nations in all its branches, and is regulated by prescribing rules for carrying on that intercourse.

Cooley proceeds to enumerate various forms of commercial enterprise, viz: railroads, bridges, boats, telegraphs. To these we may unquestionably add telephones, pipe lines, canals, etc. The business of importer[5] is one of foreign commerce, and so also the purchase and sale of goods among the states, either in cash trade[6] or by sample,[7] is a matter of

[1] Land and lucrative capital, in the form of real estate for dwellings, etc., should be taxed to the owner by the local jurisdiction, whether the owner is also the occupier or not.

[2] Rept. Mass. Tax Com., 1897, pp. 104–112; cf. N. Y. Tax Rept., 1871, p. 107; also, *contribution mobilière* in France, Vignes, Traité des Impots, I. p. 43.

[3] Gibbons *v.* Ogden, 9 Wheat. 1.

[4] Cooley, Constitutional Law of the U. S., 65.

[5] Brown *v.* Md., 12 Wheat. 419.

[6] Welton *v.* Mo., 91 U. S. 275.

[7] Robbins *v.* Shelby Co. Taxing District, 120 U. S. 489.

interstate commerce. In a recent case (1895) it was held that the manufacture of sugar was not an act of trade or commerce among the states.[1] The court say:

> Contracts to buy, sell, or exchange goods to be transported among the several states, the transportation of instrumentalities, and articles bought, sold or exchanged for the purpose of such transit among the states, or put in the way of transit, may be regulated, but this is because they form a part of interstate trade or commerce. The fact that an article is manufactured for export to another state does not of itself make it an article of interstate commerce, and the intent of the manufacturer does not determine the time when the article or product passes from the control of the state and belongs to commerce.

In line with this view, but of greater force on account of its positive character, is the more recent case of Pipe and Steel Co. *v.* U. S.:[2]

> A sale for delivery beyond the state makes the transaction a part of interstate commerce. The commodity may not have commenced its journey and so may still be completely within the jurisdiction of the state for purposes of state taxation, and yet at that same time the commodity may have been sold for delivery in another state.

From a consideration of the occupations suggested here, without going further, it is evident that the judicial interpretation of the commerce clause makes it possible for the regulations of commerce by the Federal Government to cover a very large field. Of course this power extends to unincorporated as well as incorporated traders, but the consideration of the former is outside of the limits of the present discussion.

Moreover, it should be observed that if Congress should seek to extend its powers still further, there are means at hand. There are lines of business not partaking of the nature of interstate or foreign commerce which are within its control. We have already considered elsewhere the power to establish and regulate banks; probably this could be extended to cover some other financial institutions, *e. g.*, trust

[1] U. S. *v.* Knight, 156 U. S. 1.
[2] Pipe & Steel Co. *v.* U. S., 175 U. S. 211.

companies. So, too, the power to grant patents and copyrights could be made a means of controlling the use of them and the corporations which used them. Cooley says: "The power to legislate on the subject of patents is plenary." [1]

The consideration of this subject might be carried much further with a view to determine how far the Federal Government could supplant or regulate the states in their taxing functions. The matter, however, becomes rather a legal and economic puzzle than a question of practical finance. It might be possible and even desirable to establish federal control in the case of a limited number of enterprises, as for example, railroad, telegraph, telephone and steamship companies; and, in so far as other social needs would be benefited by a close regulation and supervision of them, its utility would be worth reckoning. The recent proposals for the regulation of great manufacturing and trading combinations might make it desirable to enlarge the scope of the plan, if satisfactory legal methods of control could be devised. These other considerations which lead to the demand for interference add momentum to the demand for tax reform by federal intervention. Some of the representatives of the great industrial combinations do not seem to view federal regulation with disfavor.[2]

The discussion of such radical proposals of reform as are presented here may seem to some entirely beyond the range of practical statesmanship or useful study. Certainly very grave questions are involved affecting the nation, the states and the individual. It is not appropriate to anticipate the many practical difficulties of legislation or administration that would undoubtedly be encountered, nor the means of meeting them; in fact the broader suggestions of this sort made here are purely tentative. The correct economic prin-

[1] Cooley, Const. Law of U. S., 85.

[2] Cf. Rept. Industrial Commission, vol. i: J. D. Rockefeller, p. 797; Archbold, p. 565; Gates, p. 1022. Cf. *contra*, Havemeyer, p. 122; Gary, p. 1002.

ciple should be established first, and this, according to the present argument, is found in taxing business undertakings where the business is carried on, and persons at their place of residence on their consumption. The present confusion in state and national finance arises very largely from a lack of harmony in theory, though the above rule seems to be the goal to which we are working. Once the proper rule is discovered the possibility of following it under our existing system of constitutional law should be examined, and this is as far as we have attempted to go. Broad questions of another sort evidently enter in just as soon as we adopt the legal expedient of federal action in place of state action. Many still view the extension of federal powers with misgivings, if not with positive hostility. But it is evident that the enlargement of federal control is a matter of necessity in many ways, and the need of it will become more and more urgent as the economic relations of different parts of the country become more intimate and the organization of business more centralized. This solidarity of economic life must find a more appropriate expression in the law.

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Cleveland, Ohio.

THE MANUFACTURER'S NEED OF RECIPROCITY.

Trade is always and necessarily reciprocal. Unless both sides at the same time receive a benefit from it, it does not take place. Each party buys and each sells—gives something of which he has a surplus and gets something of which he has a lack. Self-evident when goods are exchanged for goods, this is no less true when goods are exchanged for money, which is an order in blank for goods. Sometimes it fulfills our desire to obtain such an order, and await convenient time and conditions for filling it; sometimes to have that order filled; in either case we gratify our desire in the transaction. In the general view, to provide for trade at all, we must provide for reciprocal trade. There must be equal freedom on both sides, or this arrangement for the gratification and benefit of both will be obstructed. We must give in order to get, just as we must buy in order to sell.

The particular application of the general principle just stated, is to those who would pass themselves off as earnest friends of reciprocity, but insist that no reciprocity treaty can be accepted if its operation will hurt any interest now depending on the maintenance of our present obstructions to international commerce. Such friends would have ardently desired emancipation, forty years ago, but have protested that it must not take place as long as any holder of slaves might suffer in pocket by it. They would be just such advocates of temperance as the famous cross-roads politician who was "in favor of the Maine law, only agin' its enforcement." The genuine advocates of reciprocity would injure no one, if it could be helped, and regret that two or three industries, employing a few thousand laborers at most, under an investment of a few millions of capital, may fail to share in the general benefit that the most important of the pending treaties (that with France) would bring; but they can-

not think it right to sacrifice the interests of every other producer along with the great army of consumers in this mighty republic to those of so slender a minority. A voice from the West reminds us: "Reciprocity that injures no American interests comes practically to reciprocity that alarms no American interests; and this means reciprocity that is merely a catchword. The West and the Central West ask more than this."

Another fact, which business men cannot afford to neglect, is found in the operation of the general law that it is that part of the product which is—normally, not occasionally or accidentally—marketed at the greatest disadvantage to the producer, whose cost of production fixes the price of the whole. Applied to those who produce more than enough for the home demand, this law shows its working in the observed fact that the exported surplus always fixes the price of the product, unless there is a combination of producers, assisted by an import duty, to maintain a higher price for the same goods at home than abroad. Because such combinations can be made among manufacturers, instances of their wares costing fellow-citizen producers more than the same goods cost aliens are not at all uncommon; because to farmers, scattered as they are, such combinations are not practicable, the prices realized from their wheat, corn and cotton are at the mercy of the foreign demand. If the need of exporting manufacturers for open markets abroad, to escape the stagnation and reduction of business or commercial disaster that come from overproduction, seems all but self-evident, the need of exporting farmers for the same opportunity is even greater.

What is the practical application of these general principles? This: that a government, seeking to aid the producer by assuring him a market for his product, has a special function with regard to producers of goods that can be exported. To them it is of very little service to put foreign rivals at a disadvantage in home markets, for producers able

to meet competition on equal terms abroad must already have become sufficiently assured at home without such preference. But it is of very great service to them to provide that foreign rivals shall not have them at a disadvantage in markets beyond the reach of our protection. That provision can only be made by remembering the amount of human nature there is in mankind—remembering that legislation, passed with the avowed object of crippling foreign producers, is not often amiably received by those against whom it is directed—that the same appliance which we use against them can as readily be turned against us, and in many cases will be. Our producers seem to be spoiled by the knowledge that there is always one foreign country—and that one by far their best customer on the globe—that can be depended on to rise superior to such petty spites. But after all we need a wider market than Great Britain, or the British Empire; and we must expect that the countries of Continental Europe will treat us no better than we treat them. That such an expectation is well founded, the reports that come to us every week, of fresh combinations on the Continent against our products, leave us in no doubt. A few months ago Russia was proclaiming her maximum tariff schedule against our manufactures; then there were Austrian statesmen who wanted to form a trade league of powers to keep us out; now the German Reichstag is carefully devising and perfecting a new tariff which this country is to feel with especial severity. No need to particularize; every new move to which all those people, who really want our wares and ought to have them, are driven by the very human propensity to retaliate, grows more and more discouraging to exporters here. Every country that has a higher and a lower scale of import duties, already applies the higher to our products. In the case of France we share that distinction with no European country but Portugal; all others have obtained better treatment in the only way it can be obtained, by according better treatment in return.

The question whether, by ratifying the pending treaty with the French Republic, we shall secure for ourselves the lower scale of duties on 635 out of 654 items of the French tariff, is, to any manufacturer who hopes by any possibility to sell any of his products in France, one on which there is room for but one opinion. The percentage of duty on these 635 items, including some concessions already temporarily granted, and made permanent by the proposed treaty, is to be reduced from an average maximum of 71 to an average of 37; the French thus strike off 48 per cent of their rates on that extensive and important list of articles, of which our exports to France in 1898 exceeded thirteen million dollars' worth. In return, this country grants reductions of from 5 to 20 per cent of the tariff rates on twenty-six out of 705 articles, which now pay an average duty of 47½ per cent, but will pay 44 per cent after the reduction, the rates being diminished by hardly 7 per cent. If those terms are not sufficiently favorable, it is quite impossible to imagine any, that the French would grant, which could satisfy us. The opposition comes from a few who fear, or profess to fear, that the protection of 45 per cent ad valorem, which knit goods, for example, now enjoy, in addition to the specific duty now paid on such goods and left intact, will hopelessly ruin their production if reduced to 36 per cent; or who claim that success under a 60 per cent ad valorem rate on jewelry, will give place to bankruptcy and collapse under 57 per cent; or that the country, just able to make skin gloves with a handicap of 50 per cent against the French, would miserably fail with no more than a petty 45 per cent. Those are the people in obedience to whose behests the Senate is now bidden to throw out the French treaty, concluded in compliance with the provisions of the Dingley tariff itself, and so give up our opportunity to establish a demand for 635 articles of our production in France, free of the disadvantage of having to pay maximum rates of duty while all competing nations pay minimum rates. The late President was

firmly of the opinion that the proposed treaty would not seriously injure a single American industry. Unless he was sadly mistaken, therefore, the question is as altogether one-sided as ever came before our people for consideration.

An important fact—though, like those already cited, almost a truism—is that trade is conducted by and between individuals, not nations. Laws and decrees may direct it, but cannot create it. To this it may be added, that such direction as they give is usually negative rather than positive; discouraging trade in undesired instead of encouraging it in desired channels. Bounties and subsidies are intended to furnish the positive element, encouragement; import duties the negative, discouragement. Alexander Hamilton was an earnest advocate of the positive plan. His great Report on Manufactures advocated duties on a revenue basis, leaving free the raw materials of our industries, and turning the productive energy of the country to new manufacturing by the encouragement of subsidies. Such a tariff would be condemned as radical free trade, if proposed in our day. The action of reciprocity arrangements is to take off some of the obstructions which would turn trade inward by making it less profitable outward; to allow the individual, who is actually to do the trading, a little additional liberty. To some friends of this policy, the slight increase that it tends to give to the liberty of the citizen is its most important characteristic—that which renders it most valuable. It is doubtless true that reciprocity is limited free trade, and free trade unlimited reciprocity. Nevertheless, some of the most ardent partisans of protection are active in advancing the reciprocity policy, while some of the most energetic advocates of free trade denounce that policy with some bitterness. Permit me to quote from one of these, whose discernment and high integrity I have always honored and whom I have long cherished as a friend. He writes:

"The reciprocity to which the American people are invited is not reciprocity in trade between individuals, but a reciprocity by treaty

between nations to relieve them from some of the evils which they have imposed upon themselves." The Republican leaders to whom we owe the McKinley and Dingley tariffs "saw this. They also saw more than this. They saw that the word was one by which they could tickle popular sentiment, and which could be stretched in either direction. They saw that while the natural effect would be greater freedom of trade, it could be applied to industries which received no benefits from protection while allowing the great monopolies to retain their special privileges, and thus furnishing a powerful source from which election expenses could be drawn—an enduring instrument to corrupt and debauch the people."

Nevertheless, the great body of those who would advance their country's interest by securing for it larger liberty of trade are undoubtedly in favor of ratifying such treaties as that concluded with France. Even though they may come in the character of "handmaids of protection," they carry us a little way ahead in the direction of liberty; and progress in that direction is welcomed, however we may be led to it.

A large and interesting class of reasons why the true policy of our government is now—whatever it may have been in the past—to do what can be done to win for our producers better markets abroad, rather than provide for foreign producers worse and worse markets here, is furnished by the general criticisms to which the policy of high import rates embodied in the Dingley tariff has laid itself open. A few may be named:

1. The laborers employed in the industries dependent on protection are few in number compared with those occupied in producing goods for export. The number of hands at work in raising the exported part of our wheat and cotton crops, together with the number engaged in flour-mills and machine shops whose product is exported, are estimated at 3,000,000; and the number of those who could possibly be affected by reduction of duties must be considerably less than a million. It follows that the interest of the workingman points to wider distribution, and freer access to foreign markets.

2. The total value of the country's wool clip, whose protection forms so important a part of latter-day tariffs, "has rarely if ever exceeded $60,000,000." Putting the total agricultural production of the country, exclusive of what is fed to live stock, at four thousand million dollars' worth, the maximum proportion formed by wool is 1½ per cent. The total value of our exported agricultural products has by this time risen to $900,000,000 annually, or, reduced to the value of the crude product on the farm, about $750,000,000, more than twelve times that of our total wool clip. It would appear to follow that the average farmer's interest in finding a good market for the products he exports is, to his interest in getting a higher price for his wool, about as twelve to one; and that he is not sagacious in upholding a system under which an artificially enhanced price is found for 1½ per cent of his product, if that system at the same time reduces the purchasing power of the remaining 98½ per cent. It appears worth while to add, since we hear so much of the interest of Ohio in wool, that the 1901 clip of that state is valued at only $3,166,593 in the last report of the National Association of Woolen Manufacturers, and it has been calculated that Ohio's yearly product of hen's eggs is worth about double that figure.

3. The contrast between the list of manufactures successfully established in this country, given by Hamilton in 1791, when there had been no legislation to encourage them, but not a little to discourage, and the professed opinion in our day, that notwithstanding all the acquired aptitude and ingenuity of our people, industries cannot be conducted without a handicap of at least 50 per cent on foreign competition, is significant. We often hear it said that ours would become a nation of mere agriculturists, but for legislative protection against it. The absurdity of this opinion is too glaring, doubtless, for exposure among thinking men; but the point of interest about it is that, so far as it is a sincere opinion, it is the direct teaching of the high tariffs them-

selves. The question then suggests itself, is it desirable, or not, for such unfounded distrust of our national capacity to become current? Is it desirable, or not, for our citizens to feel unable to go ahead with any new enterprise until the government first encourages it with an import duty? Does such a disposition, or does it not, advance us to the first rank in industry and commerce? If an affirmative answer is given, tariff legislation for forty years, culminating in the Dingley law, is admirably calculated to cultivate the frame of mind thus accounted desirable.

Criticisms of the reciprocity idea, founded on unfavorable judgments as to the working of reciprocity treaties in the past, are sometimes made. There is nothing really available for comparison, in the history of this country, except the Canadian reciprocity which held from 1855 to 1866. The arrangements known sometimes as reciprocity treaties, concluded under the McKinley law in 1891 and 1892, are not comparable with anything now proposed. Yet those arrangements did largely increase our exports to the Spanish West Indies while they lasted; and although no such effect is discoverable in other cases—in the British West Indies, Central and South America, and Germany—they had hardly had time to come into operation before the financial depression of 1893 came upon America and Europe, and commercial conditions were no longer normal. The Canadian treaty is variously considered, according to the point of view from which it is approached. Hon. Commissioner Kasson, to whose skill, industry and care for its interests in negotiating the pending treaties, the country owes so much, is convinced that it was of great service to us, not only in promoting our export trade to the Dominion, but in preventing them in some degree from becoming our rivals in the British trade. In opposition to it, the charge most frequently made is that the Canadians gained more by it than we did. That would be petty enough if the charge were true, and there is no satisfactory evidence that it is true. The balance-

of-trade argument has been used, and quite successfully if success is judged by the possibility of picking out individual years in which there was a large importation from Canada. The truth as appears from the trade figures is that both imports and exports largely increased in the early years of the treaty; that after a few years our exports fell off, slightly more than our imports—though there were fluctuations in both; that during the last few years of the treaty, about the close of our Civil War, imports came to exceed their highest previous figures, though exports did not; that, although those last years show some balance of trade on the Canadian side, the balance for the whole twelve years is decidedly on the other, or what is known as the "favorable" side for us; that for some time after the treaty was abrogated the balance turned strongly "against" us, to an extent of $29,000,000 in four years. That the significant falling off in our exports to Canada which followed the abrogation of the treaty was due to that abrogation, there can be no reasonable doubt, since the direct effect of it was a marked provocation of hostile sentiment across the border. In that way the consequences of our action were deplorable in the extreme. We prevented the Canadians from growing closer to us, in a business way, as their situation, their evident interests and our common history would so naturally have led them long ago to grow; and notwithstanding the gratifying recent development of commercial relations between us, it is safe to say that business across the line, both in exporting and in importing, would probably be twice as extensive as it now is, if we had not turned the Canadian mind against us in 1866. We are often told that sentiment has no influence in business. No direct influence, we might perhaps admit; but its indirect influence is mighty.

But far beyond any other country in present importance, as bearing upon the question of reciprocity, is the island of Cuba. The best-known historian of the recent war in that island, Col. Theodore Roosevelt, now President, reminds us

that "the guns that thundered over Manila and Santiago left us echoes of glory, but they also left us a legacy of duty. It is worse than idle for us to say that we have no duty to perform and can leave the islands to their fate. Let us, as we value our self-respect, face these responsibilities and meet the problem in a way to redound to our glory, with high resolve for the widest freedom of individual initiative and for the wisest control of national initiative, pursuing no policy that is hostile to the welfare of the many. While our nation's first duty is within its own borders, it is not to be absolved from facing its duties as a whole, and if it refuses to do so it forfeits its right to struggle for a place among the peoples that shape the destiny of mankind." I wish there were room for further quotation from our President's honest, manly words, so sharply and clearly suggesting the nation's duty and responsibility. This duty and responsibility have particular application to commerce. Among many acknowledgments of this I select the following from the editorial columns of the *New York Tribune:*

"We may unhesitatingly declare that Cuba's grievance against Spain was primarily a commercial one, and that it was because Spain refused to redress that grievance—because, that is, Spain refused to give the island a commercial system under which its people could prosper—that Cuba first and repeatedly raised the standard of revolt. . . . The United States regarded it as valid, and sympathized with Cuba over it. In view of these facts it does not seem possible—it ought not to be conceivable—that the United States should repeat and continue the Spanish blunder of oppressive commercial laws concerning Cuba, and thus arouse against ourselves the legitimate grievance which Cuba long had against Spain. . . . The United States are exercising authority and cannot escape responsibility. They must either give Cuba as good a market as she can get elsewhere or let her go elsewhere."

Our responsibility is great, because our power is great. At our command, as an express condition of our ceasing to treat the island as conquered territory under martial law, the "Platt Amendment" was forced into the new Constitution

of Cuba, as an integral part of her organic law. By that amendment the Cubans are practically bound, hand and foot; they dare not turn elsewhere for favorable terms, but must be satisfied with what we choose to give them; and what we have hitherto chosen to give them is only a fresh and increased dose of the old Spanish prescription: pauperism and bankruptcy. The commercial products of the island are sugar and tobacco. For these our country is the natural market, and we make our duties especially heavy on them: about 99 per cent on sugar, the more important of the two, or nearly double the Dingley rates on dutiable goods generally; the rate being $1.68 per hundred pounds, the Cubans receiving, after deducting cost of transportation, barely $1.70, which is less than the cost of production. This cannot continue: it points to inevitable ruin and paralysis of productive and commercial enterprise, with a relegation of that fair island to a condition of idleness and semi-barbarism. The land is fertile, luckily; nature there produces enough, with little assistance, to keep the population from starvation; but there can be no growth. I feel a slight shame in showing how our own interests are suffering along with those of our island ward; but that is one of the facts in the case, and the pace at which the evil is progressing is clearly shown by the rate at which our Cuban export trade has fallen off since 1899, when it was $36,500,000. The loss in 1900 was $4,500,000, and in the first eight months of 1901 $5,000,000 more. Our exports to Cuba within two years under the Blaine-McKinley reciprocity arrangement doubled in value. Can any other lesson be drawn from the present falling off in a trade, so prosperous elsewhere, than that our customers in Cuba cannot buy of us because we have made them too poor?

If we insist upon making Cuba our Ireland, we degrade it and turn it from gratitude to bitter enmity. And is this to be the result of our occupation of Cuba—this the glory we are to reap from the triumph of our arms? Impossible. No violation of good faith so palpable, so indefensible, may

be laid to our charge until we have actually committed it. Our conduct in Cuba, since the occupation began, has been on the whole decidedly honorable: our representatives, both military and civil, have, with a few exceptions, done the country credit. The chief of those representatives, Governor-General Wood, is eminently the best man for the place. If the country should, in the *Tribune's* words, "repeat and continue the Spanish blunder," it will be as surprising as disappointing.

Such opposition as is made to the demand of the Cubans for reciprocal trade with the United States comes, it need hardly be stated, from the sugar and tobacco producers: mainly from the former. Even the opposition from these sources is often not altogether candid in its expression: for instance, we are not infrequently treated to the assertion that lowering the duty on Cuban sugar will not bring greater gains to the Cuban growers, but that the lion's share will fall to the Sugar Trust. That corporation occupies a singular position in our politics. Everybody appeals with confidence to its assumed unpopularity; everybody expects approval for this or that scheme which he claims will diminish its profits, or calls down denunciation on the other scheme which is certain to enhance them; yet meantime, no one, by any chance, undertakes to effect the only means of really cutting down its gains: taking off a part of the impost on refined sugar. Both great parties seem alike in this. The Sugar Trust seems to hold both in its grasp. The McKinley bill made raw sugar free, but allowed a generous duty on refined; the Wilson bill dealt gently with sugar refining; the Dingley bill was not behind its predecessors in deference to the same powerful interest. And yet, to judge from the general trend of talk on the subject, one would think that it had not a friend! Well, in sober truth, I think it altogether possible that through increased sales the greatly favored and greatly anathematized Sugar Trust would enjoy a small part of the profit of free admission of the raw product from Cuba.

I think it altogether probable that all the consumers of sugar, including fruit-canners, makers of jams and conserves, would obtain a larger part. I think it altogether certain that the Cubans would secure for themselves a still larger part—which, whether larger or smaller, would be sufficient to make all the difference between success and ruin—between revival and paralysis of agriculture and enterprise—between friendship and enduring enmity on their part towards us—between duty and perfidy on our part towards them. If there should be any question how the Cubans themselves feel on the subject, ask them—as I have already done. If, after doing "our plain duty," in this case, we should happen to discover that the Trust was drawing an undue share of the profits, things could easily and effectually be made even by cutting down a part of the duty on sugar above No. 16, Dutch standard.

Though less conspicuous in the case of other countries than Cuba, the ethical element has a real place in all considerations of reciprocity. Exchange of material goods is not all that commerce involves: for all is not ended when articles have been delivered and money paid. The mind is quickened in the process, and more knowledge of our fellowmen arouses more sympathy. It is a necessity, in concluding a mercantile transaction, to put oneself into the other party's place—to think to some extent with his thoughts—otherwise we cannot secure that adaptation of his needs to our commodity, or of his commodity to our needs, which is requisite for the exchange. This is obvious enough; but important consequences grow out of it. Commercial dealing thus comes to be a powerful bond of human brotherhood; what the merchant undertakes from the mere desire for gain, comes to work without his wish, without his knowledge, as a minister of peace on earth, good will to men. The fact that it widens the sphere of commerce, and tends to restrict that of warfare, is to my mind the strongest argument for international reciprocity.

It was probably less because of their wish to speed commerce on her way to the ends of the earth as a messenger of Christianity and composer of international enmities than because of economic merits they saw in the policy, that the National Manufacturers' Association called a convention to discuss reciprocity treaties in Washington last month. Lest the importance of their theme, the extension of markets for our manufactured products in foreign countries, should lead them too far into projects that had no application to present-day practicabilities, they very discreetly limited the scope of their discussion; resolving firmly and distinctly that "No consideration will be given to any suggestions looking to a general revision of the present tariff law of the United States nor to the abandonment or modification of the essential principles embodied in that law." Recognizing the wide-spread tendency in the popular mind to associate reciprocity arrangements with moderations of (or—if the phrase be preferred—"attacks on") our general scheme of import duties, they very properly shut off discussion on that point at the outset. They might as properly have gone farther yet, and clearly shown, on behalf of the "reciprocity that alarms no American interests," that what they had in view was in perfect harmony with "the essential principles of the present tariff law," so that the popular disposition to think otherwise was a mere vagary.

What are those "essential principles" from which we are in no wise to depart? The leading "principle," we well know, is that citizens of this Republic may not be trusted to make their purchases wisely, but need the salutary discipline of a fine to restrain them from dealing with producers not favored by the better wisdom of a paternal government. Surely it cannot be necessary formally to prove, what appears so evident at a glance, that treaty regulations made by the government itself could cast no reflection on the superior ability of governmental machinery to bring wealth and prosperity to the citizen, and the cardinal "principle" that the

citizen would obstinately rush to the wrong place to make his purchase if the law forbore to fine him for making the mistake. No, the reciprocity of the political platforms is no removal of the paternal office of regulating. It is rightly claimed as an exemplification, not a transgression of "the essential principles."

Another principle, only a little less essential than the one just set forth, is that the general well-being is advanced by the formation, and establishment in the plenitude of power, of great combinations of producers. That it is the primary object of our tariff laws to assist these combinations to rise and thrive, will not and need not be asserted; but it can hardly be denied that if they had been enacted with that primary object they could not more effectually have attained it. We must frankly admit that reciprocity arrangements, if not carefully drawn, might easily endanger the supremacy and sway of these special favorites of our legislation; but it is not of such bungling prentice-work that we are now speaking. It is not difficult to draw up treaties that will leave the citizen in many ways as much under the dominion of consolidated capital as he ever was; and, even granting the possibility that the executive branch of government might fall in some degree short of the full measure of consideration due to vested rights, we are assured in our national Senate of a vigilant guardian to whose tender care no combination, corporation or trust may appeal in vain. The power of the Senate to amend is a guaranty of the integrity of our second "essential principle."

The third principle, so closely akin to the second that the two might almost be considered in one sentence, is that prosperity is advanced by the sale of American manufactures in home markets at higher prices than the same manufactures command in Europe. If prosperity is identical with high prices, and Europe's inferiority results from its being denied that blessing, our third principle necessarily follows; and it is quite plain that our own continued enjoyment of it is

dependent on the maintenance of trusts and other such combinations, or at least of mutual understandings among producers. It must be confessed that reciprocity treaties, so far as they affect the matter, tend to reduce or remove this difference in prices, and that is perhaps their weakest point in the mind of the orthodox protectionist; yet, after all, he may comfort himself with the reflection that this criticism applies to treaties unskillfully made, and not to such as are warranted to "alarm" nobody. The care already recommended in the drafting of them, and the well-established character of our Senate, may fully assure him that this great principle will suffer no detriment.

So much to show the ease with which reciprocity, of a certain kind, may be reconciled with the Dingley act. More in the same line might be added, if it were necessary to add anything to the section of the bill itself calling for reciprocity arrangements, and nullified unless some kind of reciprocity is devised, and ratified as part of the law of the land. But reciprocity, of the kind which some of us who called the convention believed that it might be induced to approve, recognizes the truth that we cannot expect to obtain concessions worth having without giving something for them in return—giving something real, and not merely pretending to give—and its results, though, as already shown, not seriously injuring anyone, cannot in every case be kept from causing some alarm, or at least some apprehension of diminished business profits in some quarters.

It was with a view of securing something real and positive as the outcome of the convention, that the opening speech in behalf of the treaties now pending in the Senate was made. In that speech I called especial attention to the adverse foreign legislation which had come, or was immediately expected, as a direct and inevitable effect of our last tariff act, to the necessity of either submitting to that hostile legislation or of setting ourselves in earnest to counteract it, to the latter alternative as in every way preferable, and to the final

words of our lamented President at Buffalo, by which the convention was asked to guide itself. It may possibly be worth while to say as much as this about the speech, because at least one Philadelphia newspaper leaves its readers to infer that there was nothing therein but a declaration that the present tariff is "the highest in the history of the world"—which, literally speaking, it possibly is not. Perhaps in some provinces of China, perhaps in Spain centuries ago, the Dingley schedules may have been surpassed; and it may be pretty confidently affirmed that the business men present received no impression to the contrary. What they understood, what it was intended to have them understand, and what is notoriously true, is that, in the history of the world, no nation undertaking to send its products abroad, has ever put up such an obstacle to prevent its foreign customers from paying for its goods, as have the United States in their series of exorbitant tariffs culminating in the one now in force. It may be of interest to add that my authority is the Government Actuary. He will tell you that the customs duties collected by the United States, reduced to an average ad valorem rate on the total imports, are much greater than by any commercial or manufacturing country in the world. He will tell you that the average duty in Russia, where it is highest, is about 37 per cent, and that her free list is very small—while the United States rate, exclusive of the free list, is 50 or 52 per cent; although, by including our extensive free importations, covering about 40 per cent of the whole, the average rate may be reduced to 30 per cent. It will thus be seen that our rate is considerably higher even than Russia's on dutiable articles.

The significance of the criticism which that statement, in the convention speech, has met is in the sensitiveness it indicates, on the part of the critics, over the high import rates of the Dingley law. It might have been anticipated that they would glory in its exalted figures, and exult in the attention called to them. If I may interpret their outcry as

evidence that they are growing ashamed of those exorbitant rates, it would be unpardonably ungracious in me not to welcome it as an evidence of progress.

In discussing the proceedings of the Reciprocity Convention, fairness seems to require that I should pay equal attention to the leading speech in opposition to reciprocity, by the representative of the Manufacturers' Club of this city, a speech reported at length, as the important feature of the proceedings, by the *American Economist*. In his use of Treasury statistics, the speaker selected as an example under "the Wilson tariff act" the fiscal year 1892-93, which closed more than a year before there was a Wilson tariff in existence, and of whose twelve months eight were under the Harrison administration. He goes on to compare, in respect to imports and exports, three recent years with three that he calls "Wilson bill" years: 1893-4-5. For more than half the time he included as "Wilson" years the McKinley tariff was in force, so that the comparison was simply a piece of statistical juggling, recalling the irresistible humor of the "Max Adeler" jokes. The falling off in our export trade during the years 1893-4-5 was due to a depressed financial condition abroad as well as at home, joined with a succession of unusually large wheat and rye crops in Europe; and its revival since those years is due to many causes, among which a better monetary condition among our customers, a fuller gold supply from the mines, and a sharper European demand for our agricultural products are included. Our manufacturers have obtained a part of the benefit of this improved foreign demand; and it is easier to stay in the markets of Europe when once in than it was to work in at first.

The Manufacturers' Club speech unfortunately carried the convention with it. The resolution finally adopted was feeble and ambiguous, and thus the result was practically null. The New York Chamber of Commerce has already condemned it by a formal vote, and the newspapers give it

faint praise. Has this "lame and impotent conclusion" really sounded "the death-knell of all the reciprocity treaties?" Has the whole movement for better markets abroad been in vain? Not permanently, we may rest assured: if China herself is not permitted forever to pursue a Chinese policy, surely we will not undertake to pursue one. The certainly coming expansion of our foreign trade facilities may come easily, and it may come violently; if it be our wish to have it come easily, moderately, rationally, normally, we should do all in our power to obtain from the present Senate and House of Representatives, both under the unfettered sway of the Dingley policy, the modest concessions called for in the treaties.

Associations, both in the capital city and in Ohio, have been formed to build a monument in memory of William McKinley, that his fellow-citizens may be perpetually reminded of his virtues and his public services. It is fitting and proper to do this. But it has been suggested that the best possible memorial to our martyr President would be some work in the line of his own evident wishes—and would not a sincere patriot, whose last words were for his country, be best honored by deeds in furtherance of those words? How earnestly his heart was enlisted in the success of the treaties agreed upon under his direction I have long known from personal intercourse; the world has known it since his address in Buffalo. Those in political accord with him should not be foremost in disregarding his last appeal.

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York, Pennsylvania.

THE NATIONAL PENSION SYSTEM AS APPLIED TO THE CIVIL WAR AND THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

No computation of the cost of a war in which the United States is engaged can now be complete without consideration of the disbursements for pensions which are certain to be required for generations after hostilities have ceased. In attempting thirty-five years ago to estimate the cost of the Civil War, one would scarcely have included an item of two and one-half billions of dollars for pensions. And yet, at the present time, that amount has been largely exceeded. The Revolutionary War ended 118 years ago, but the last widow of a Revolutionary soldier has not disappeared from the pension roll. Eighty-six years after the War of 1812, we have a survivor and 1,500 widows of that war in receipt of aid from the nation. Experience, then, abundantly justifies a belief that, a century after the close of the Civil War, we shall be making expenditures on account of that great conflict.

It is not safe even to assume that we have reached the maximum of pension disbursements on account of the Civil War. Congress may at some time yield to an agitation for a service-pension law without the disability requirements of the act of 1890. This would be following existing precedents. In that case, the tendency to a diminution in expenditures might be checked, and, for a time, there might be an increase. It would be interesting to know the entire cost of the Civil War in pensions and how many times the cost of hostilities in the field the amount will ultimately be.

That the pension system of the United States has not oftener been the subject of serious study is surprising. Through its agency money goes from the National Treasury into the pockets of one person in every seventy-six of our

population. Over a considerable period of years just prior to the War with Spain, about two dollars of every five expended by the National Government went for pensions. When has any nation provided so liberally for its disabled soldiers and for the dependent relatives of the slain?

In the period from 1892 to 1897 inclusive, the entire receipts from internal revenue were $899,000,000 and the receipts from customs revenue $1,001,000,000. For the same period, the cost of pension payments and administration of the system was $880,000,000. This is 97.9 per cent of the total receipts of the government from internal revenue, or 87.9 per cent of the total customs receipts. These statistics seem suggestive of a connection between high tariff laws and lavish pension provisions. The interests of the protected manufacturer and of the pensioned soldier have been the same. Since the Civil War, there has been a noteworthy sequence in the passage of high tariff laws, the accumulation of a surplus, and the distribution of that surplus through pensions. It is doubtful whether the country would favor a $140,000,000 yearly appropriation for pensions, if that amount were to be added to the burdens of the internal revenue system.

The execution of a single pension law, that of June 27, 1890, has already cost $630,000,000, and expenditures under its provisions are piling up at the rate of between sixty and seventy millions a year. These figures are so large as to be appreciated with difficulty, and yet the demand for additional legislation is insatiable. Attempts by government officials to place ordinary safeguards upon the distribution of the public money are met by clamorous denunciation, and Congress is importuned at every session for laws providing for even more lavish expenditures.

In the following pages, an attempt will be made to sketch in broad outline the main features of the present pension system of the United States, especially as applied to military operations since 1861. Attention will also be given to

some of the phases of legislation and administration which afford opportunity for the securing of assistance from the National Treasury through claims without merit and often supported by fraud.

Though military pensions have been paid in the United States since early colonial times, the system has experienced a remarkable development since the Civil War. Prior to that time, rates were low, and, except in the case of Revolutionary soldiers, pensions were based upon disability received or death incurred as a direct result of military service. Laws were also carefully limited in operation to the particular wars concerned. At the outbreak of the Civil War, the pension list consisted of some 10,700 persons, of whom sixty-three were soldiers of the Revolution and 2,728 the widows of such soldiers. The actual expenditure during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1861, was $1,072,000. Under the laws then in force, the number of pensioners was decreasing at the rate of five or six hundred each year.

In the Pension Bureau, the wars fought before 1861 are known as the "old wars." Provisions of so liberal a character have been enacted that practically all surviving soldiers and the widows of all who fought in these wars are pensioned.[1] On June 30, 1901, there were 21,779 persons pensioned on account of the old wars, or about two per cent of the pensioners of the United States. The 15,677 Mexican War pensioners constitute the bulk of the old war beneficiaries. Four widows and five daughters of Revolutionary soldiers are included.

With the exception of a grant of twelve dollars a month to army nurses who served six months during the Civil War and are now unable to earn a support,[2] the entire pension system of the United States, applying to military service after 1861, may be divided into two distinct parts: the gen-

[1] Important laws applying to the old wars are the War of 1812 pension acts of February 14, 1871, and March 9, 1878, the Mexican War pension act of January 29, 1887, and the Indian Wars act of July 27, 1892.

[2] Six hundred and fifty nurses are now pensioned under this law.

eral-law system and the system based upon the act of June 27, 1890, and amendments.

General-Law System.

The general-law system is based upon a series of acts beginning with that of July 14, 1862, and extending down to the present time.[1] It applies to all military service subsequent to March 4, 1861, and consequently to every war in which the United States may engage. Its basal principle is the granting of pensions on account of injuries received or disease contracted in actual military service and in the line of duty, or on account of death directly resulting from such service.

Pensions granted to soldiers under this system are in the strictest application of the term invalid or disability pensions. The rates established under the act of 1862, for total disability to perform manual labor, ranged from thirty dollars a month to a lieutenant-colonel, or officer of higher grade, to eight dollars a month for a private soldier or sailor. This rating has been practically made obsolete by the passage of laws establishing fixed rates for certain specific disabilities. The first of these laws was that of July 4, 1864, and between that date and July 14, 1892, the law established fixed rates for about twenty specific disabilities. One hundred dollars per month is now the highest rate, and is paid for the loss of both hands. A rate of seventy-two dollars is paid for the loss of both feet or of the sight of both eyes. Other rates range down to twenty-four dollars for a disability considered equivalent to the loss of a hand or a foot.

Besides the rates definitely fixed by law the Commissioner

[1] Among the important laws are those of July 14, 1862; July 4, 1864; June 6 and July 25, 1866; July 27, 1868; March 3, 1873; January 25, 1879; March 19, 1886; June 7, 1888; March 2, 1895; March 3, 1901. For a discussion of these laws see the writer's monograph on the "History of Military Pension Legislation in the United States," published in the Columbia University series of "Studies in History, Economics and Public Law," vol. xii, No. 3.

of Pensions, under authority of acts of March 3, 1873, and August 27, 1888, has himself fixed rates for some fifty other disabilities. Where the total rate does not exceed seventeen dollars a month, the rates for several minor disabilities may be added in fixing the amount of the pension. Thus the loss of a great toe, pensionable at six dollars a month, the loss of a little finger, at two dollars per month, and nearly total deafness of one ear, at six dollars per month, may under the law entitle an applicant to an allowance of fourteen dollars per month. However, if the total rate allowed should prove less than six dollars per month, the act of March 2, 1895, provides that from and after that date the rate shall be six dollars per month. Under the Commissioner's ratings, the unfortunate loser of a little toe would be entitled to two dollars per month. But the before-mentioned act increases the rate to six dollars a month, or seventy-two dollars a year. So that, upon a 5 per cent basis, the United States might settle in cash for the toe by a payment of $1,440. The difference in invalid pension rates now and at the close of the Civil War is strikingly shown by the fact that then total disability was understood to be inability to perform manual labor, and was pensioned at eight dollars per month. This rate is now paid for so-called "simple total disability," and is the same as that for anchylosis (stiffening) of the wrist, loss of a thumb, or the loss of the great and second toes. The man who has lost a thumb is now entitled to the same amount as was paid, prior to June 6, 1866, for the loss of an arm or a leg. Inability to perform manual labor is now pensioned at thirty dollars per month, which is also the amount allowed for the loss of a hand or foot. The following table, compiled from the last report of the Commissioner of Pensions, shows the number of general-law invalid pensioners grouped at each of eighteen typical rates. Every rate at which over one thousand pensioners are grouped is included:

Rate.	Number.	Rate.	Number.
$100	22	$20	4,447
72	2,011	17	39,100
50	1,173	16	10,998
45	2,078	15	2,261
36	2,491	14	22,326
30	15,206	12	44,441
25	2,404	10	26,846
24	22,665	8	41,619
22	2,652	6	50,438

More are pensioned at six dollars per month than at any other single rate. The injuries of these persons are considered less serious than the loss of a thumb, and it is not probable that they suffer any noticeable diminution in ability to earn a livelihood. The pensioners at eight dollars per month are hindered in their work to the extent of an amputated thumb or a stiffened wrist. None of those pensioned at ten, twelve and fourteen dollars are suffering from an injury worse, in the opinion of the Commissioner of Pensions, than the loss of the middle, ring and little fingers of one hand. For he has fixed a rate of fourteen dollars per month for that injury. Those pensioned at thirty dollars have lost a hand or foot, or have suffered some disability deemed sufficient to render them unable to perform manual labor.

Widows' pensions, under the general law, are granted whenever the soldier dies by reason of injury received or disease contracted in service and in the line of duty. The widow is entitled to receive the total disability rate corresponding to the rank of her husband when he received the injury which resulted in his death. Her pension commences from the death of the husband and continues during widowhood. Under the act of 1862, rates ranged from eight to thirty dollars per month. The act of March 19, 1886, provided that the pension of the widow of a private or non-commissioned officer should be increased from eight to twelve dollars per month, provided she married the deceased soldier prior to the passage of the act, or thereafter prior to

or during his term of service. From July 25, 1866, widows have also been entitled to an additional allowance of two dollars per month for each legitimate child of the soldier, under sixteen years of age and in their care and custody. The general law does not inquire into the financial condition of a widow, but she must show that her husband's death was due to his service.

Before March 3, 1901, the remarriage of a widow finally terminated her title to a pension. By the terms of the act of that date, if she be the wife of a soldier during the period of his service in any war, her pension is terminated by her remarriage; but, if she again become a widow or be divorced upon her own application and without fault on her part, she may be restored to the roll. She must, however, present evidence that she is without means of support other than her daily labor, and that she does not have an actual net income in excess of $250 a year.

In case a soldier is not survived by his wife, but by legitimate children under sixteen years of age, the children are entitled to the same pension as the widow might have received. Such children also succeed to a pension in cases where for some reason the right of the widow is terminated. Pensions to minors cease when they severally attain the age of sixteen years. In case a minor child becomes insane, idiotic or permanently helpless before it attains that age, the pension continues during the life of the child or during the period of the disability.

When a soldier leaves no widow or minor children, provisions are made, under certain restrictions, for the succession to the pension of the dependent mother, the dependent father, or of the orphan brothers and sisters under sixteen years of age, jointly. The law establishes the right of succession in that order. Rates of pensions to dependent relatives are fixed according to rank, just as with widows, but, since March 19, 1886, the minimum rate is twelve dollars per month.

Not including War with Spain pensioners, the number of invalids pensioned under the general law is 297,675, and the number of pensions to widows and dependent relatives is 88,802. The amount paid to these pensioners during the fiscal year 1901 was $67,867,233.84. Since July 1, 1861, 880,583 original invalid claims have been filed under the general law and 587,647 have been allowed. Out of 542,284 claims of widows and dependent relatives filed, there have been allowed 335,273. Very few applications based upon service in the Civil War are now presented under the general law. Down to June 27, 1890, the general-law system was the only provision for pension allowances, with the exception of the service laws passed on behalf of the old wars.

Though many abuses, extravagances and incongruities have crept into our present laws, a properly guarded invalid pension system is in conformity with good public policy. Its value has repeatedly been recognized as a means of encouraging enlistments. So long as nations continue to settle their disputes through warfare, public opinion will hold governments to the duty of properly providing for the care of the unfortunate victims of the battle-field. Where injuries have been severe, pensions should be liberal. Aid to widows, orphans and dependent relatives merits general approval, when the head of the family has lost his life as a result of his service. A conservative rule, however, would exclude from the benefits of the pension laws the widow who has married the soldier at a period long after the termination of his service.

Act of June 27, 1890.

This act established a system of pensions for the benefit of those who served ninety days or more in the army or navy of the United States during the Civil War and were honorably discharged, and for their widows and minor children. The above requirement is supplemented by certain important conditions not connected with the service. In its operation,

this system, unlike that under the general law, is restricted to the particular war concerned.

The soldier who applies for an allowance must have performed the required term of service and must be suffering from some mental or physical disability of a permanent character, not the result of his own vicious habits, which renders him unable to earn a support by manual labor. Rates range from six to twelve dollars per month, proportioned to the degree of disability to earn a support. No requirement is made that the applicant's disability shall have any connection with military service, and the act of May 9, 1900, provides that, in determining inability to earn a support, each and every infirmity shall be duly considered and the aggregate of the disabilities shown be rated. The amount of the pension is determined by the degree to which all these infirmities, whether minor or serious, when considered together, render the applicant unable to earn a support by manual labor. Six dollars per month is the rate for any material impairment of such ability. For total, or nearly total, inability to perform manual labor the allowance is twelve dollars. Intermediate rates of eight and ten dollars per month have also been established. A degree of disability that would entitle a claimant to the thirty dollar rate under the general law is pensioned under this act at twelve dollars per month.

Some of the disabilities which are ratable under the general law do not constitute a valid claim under the act of 1890, because they do not materially interfere with the performance of manual labor. For instance, deafness of one ear is not pensionable. Though the age of a claimant is not considered in fixing his rate of pension under the general law, it is an important factor under the act of 1890. A claimant who has reached the age of seventy-five years is allowed the maximum rate for senility alone, and at least the minimum rate is usually granted to one who has attained the age of sixty-five years.

There are now 438,114 persons pensioned under this system for disabilities not of service origin. Of these 100,258 receive six dollars a month, 133,327 eight dollars, 37,055 ten dollars, and 151,572 twelve dollars. Some few receive pensions in excess of twelve dollars per month through special acts of Congress.

The widow of any person who served ninety days or more during the Civil War and was honorably discharged, if without other means of support than her daily labor, is entitled to a pension of eight dollars per month. She is not required to show that her husband's death was the result of his service in the army, but she must have married him prior to June 27, 1890. The act of May 9, 1900, provides that the widow may be pensioned, if without other means of support than her daily labor and an actual net income not exceeding $250 a year. Pensions to widows begin from the date of the application and continue during widowhood. The additional pension of two dollars per month for each of the children of a deceased soldier, under sixteen years of age, is paid to the widow under the same conditions as provided by the general law.

In case the soldier leaves no widow, or her right to a pension is terminated by death or remarriage, the children under sixteen years of age receive the same pension as the widow would receive if living or eligible. Pensions to minor children who become insane, idiotic or permanently helpless are governed by the same rule as under the general law. Children of a marriage which took place subsequent to June 27, 1890, are not entitled to a pension under this act. The act of 1890 also makes additional and more liberal provisions for the pensioning of dependent parents. There are now 145,111 widows, children and dependent relatives pensioned under this system.

The following table shows the great predominance upon the roll of pensioners under this law:

	Invalids.	Widows, Children, etc.
Act of June 27, 1890	438,114	145,111
General law	297,675	88,802
War with Spain	3,555	2,049
War with Mexico	7,568[1]	8,109
Indian Wars, 1832–1842	1,086[1]	3,479
War of 1812	1[1]	1,527
Revolutionary War	. .	9[2]
Nurses (Civil War)[3]	. .	650
Total	747,999	249,736

Out of 997,735 persons on the pension list of the United States, 583,225, or over 58 per cent, are pensioned under the act of 1890. The War with Spain pensioners, as given in the foregoing table, are included under the general law, but are classified separately by the Pension Bureau. Up to the end of the fiscal year 1901 there had been 861,076 invalid claims filed under the act of 1890 and 470,850 allowed, and 357,752 widows' claims filed with 197,872 allowed. There is an almost constant decrease in the number of Civil War claims annually admitted under the general law. Though the rates under the act of 1890 are lower, its terms are less restricted and proof is more easily furnished. Frequently claims are filed under both systems. The pension under the act of 1890 is more easily secured, but if sufficient proof can be advanced to secure the allowance of a general-law claim at a higher rate the former pension is surrendered.

The table on page 51 shows the cost of execution of the act of 1890 up to the present time, and affords a comparison with total pension expenditures and internal revenue receipts.

The act of 1890 is the most extravagant pension law ever enacted and the most vulnerable point in our pension system. In 1887, President Cleveland courageously vetoed a similar law. He also made a record by his vetoes of

[1] Survivors.
[2] Four widows and five daughters.
[3] Act of August 5, 1892.

Year Ending June 30.	Expenditures Under Act of June 27, 1890.	Total Pension Expenditures.[1]	Total Internal Revenue Receipts.
1891 . .	$8,907,636 77	117,312,790 50	$145,686,249 44
1892 . .	51,407,971 32	139,394,147 11	153,971,072 57
1893 . .	68,259,537 18	156,906,637 94	161,027,623 93
1894 . .	57,900,173 54	139,804,461 05	147,111,232 81
1895 . .	59,102,335 29	139,807,337 30	143,421,672 02
1896 . .	58,397,963 72	138,214,761 94	146,762,864 74
1897 . .	61,686,732 32	139,949,717 35	146,688,574 29
1898 . .	66,255,670 67	144,651,879 80	170,900,641 49
1899 . .	64,321,460 77	138,355,052 95	273,437,161 51[2]
1900 . .	65,766,079 35	138,462,130 65	295,327,926 76[2]
1901 . .	66,973,481 15	138,531,483 84	307,180,663 77[2]
Total .	$628,979,042 08	$1,531,390,400 43	$2,091,515,683 33

unworthy special pension acts. The Republican national platform of 1888 denounced "the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief," and, "in the presence of an overflowing Treasury," advocated the extension of pension legislation so "as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform should become an inmate of an almshouse or dependent upon private charity." The Grand Army of the Republic, at Columbus, Ohio, in September, 1888, adopted resolutions asking for service pensions to all who served sixty days or more in the Civil War, at the rate of eight dollars per month, and "to all who served a period exceeding eight hundred days, an additional amount of one cent per day for each day's service exceeding that period." In the Presidential campaign of 1888 the pension question was in some localities a very important issue. The Republican candidate for governor of the doubtful state of Indiana was General A. P. Hovey, president of the Service Pension Association of the United States. Indiana was carried by the Republican party.

[1] Exclusive of cost of pension administration.
[2] Great increase caused by the war revenue taxes.

After the inauguration of the new administration, there was a concerted movement throughout the country for a service pension law. The Grand Army of the Republic and the pension attorneys were very active in urging the matter upon the attention of Congress. It was the desire of the Republican leaders to satisfy this demand without going to the extreme of a simple service pension bill. Consequently, the act of June 27, 1890, was passed.

It was similar to the Dependent Pension Bill vetoed by President Cleveland, except that it provided for the grading of the pension according to the degree of disability. In the House, the advocates of the measure estimated its cost at $35,000,000 per annum, and, in the Senate, at not to exceed $41,000,000 per annum. The foregoing table shows that the law is now costing about $25,000,000 annually more than the highest estimate of its supporters.

Under this system, the rich may be pensioned alike with the poor. If the medical examination shows that the claimant is wholly or partially unable to perform manual labor, there is no further inquiry into his ability to support himself. He may be a professional or business man in receipt of a large income, he may be the owner of valuable real estate or securities, but the law takes no cognizance of these facts. If he served ninety days during the Civil War and the medical examiners certify that he is unable to perform manual labor, he will receive his $144 a year.

The claimant may never have been engaged in active service. His ailments or injuries may have no possible connection with life in the army. His property and income may be quite adequate for the support of himself and family. But the law gives him a clear title to a pension, and, if he yields to the solicitations of some fee-seeking attorney, his name will soon be on the pension roll.

A concrete illustration will throw further light upon the operation of the act. Suppose a lawyer to be crossing a crowded thoroughfare in one of our cities. He is struck by

an electric car and receives an injury necessitating the amputation of his foot. If he completed three months' service during the Civil War, he has a clear title to a pension of twelve dollars a month for life. But what justice is there in the provision of law which grants him the pension? Beyond the temporary interference with his work, his professional income may not be at all diminished. He may even recover heavy damages from the street railway company. For such a man, the law of 1890 is practically an insurance provision against accident or illness which may result in permanent disability.

Why should one class of men in this country be taxed to make provision of this kind for another class of men? The only possible answer is that the latter class served in the Civil War. It is difficult to believe that reasons of sound public policy can be at the basis of such legislation. It is easier to think that "in the presence of an overflowing Treasury," Congress was unable to resist the pressure of pension attorneys and soldier organizations for a distribution of the surplus.

In the illustration we have taken, the applicant has a clear legal title. No dishonesty or misrepresentation would be necessary to secure the allowance of his claim, however little merit there might be in it. But, in that large class of cases where the disabilities alleged are obscure and not apparent to other than medical experts, what a field for simulation and fraud! The eager persuasions of attorneys, the fact that less worthy comrades are receiving pensions, the great resources of the National Treasury, induce many honest men, seemingly in normal health, to discover in themselves ailments which would have been little noticed but for the pension laws. In every large community may be found pensioners under this act, who are daily earning a living by manual labor and seem to be under no disadvantage as compared with other workers of the same age and condition in life.

It is not a pleasant task to object to pensions to widows and fatherless children. But there seems to be no good reason why the National Government should pension a widow who married a soldier twenty or twenty-five years after his period of service, when his death cannot be attributed in any way to that service. She is no more worthy of a pension than any other widow. Yet the act of 1890 grants pensions in just such cases, and, as amended in May, 1900, pensions the widow even when her net annual income amounts to $250, apart from anything she may earn by her daily labor.

This system does not provide a national gratuity or dignified form of poor relief for indigent and infirm veterans, for it makes no inquiry regarding the soldier's property or income. It pensions alike rich and poor, prosperous and unprosperous. It is not a reward for long and meritorious service in the army, for it places the three months' man upon the same basis as the soldier who fought through the whole war. Nor is it a compensation for injuries and disease contracted in the camp and on the battlefield, for it pensions for all disabilities, whenever incurred, except those resulting from vicious habits. It is unsound in principle, loose in expression and frequently absurd in application. Taxpayers are required to bear an extravagant and unjust burden to insure a privileged class against serious accident or disability. Such a system stimulates dishonesty and dependence, fails to discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving, and prevents the pension list from being, as it should be, a roll of honor. Though there is little hope of its being changed at the present date, the history of its operation should serve as a warning when propositions for unlimited service-pension laws are broached in Congress. With the restoration of a Treasury surplus, such measures are certain to be persistently urged.

War with Spain.

No soldiers have ever enjoyed the benefit of pension provisions so liberal as those applying to our forces engaged in

the War with Spain and in suppressing the insurrection in the Philippine Islands. The whole body of the general pension law, enacted from the Civil War down to the present time, applies to these soldiers just as it does to the veterans of the struggle of 1861–1865. No additional legislation has been needed. For the soldiers of the Civil War the system was gradually established and liberalized. For those of the War with Spain it is in effect immediately at discharge.

Up to March 2, 1895, thirty years after the close of hostilities, many thousands of soldiers of the Civil War were pensioned at rates of two and four dollars per month. On June 30, 1890, there were on the rolls 95,835 invalid pensioners of that war at rates less than six dollars per month. Of these, 21,232 received but two dollars per month and 71,789 were pensioned at four dollars per month. No pensioner of the War with Spain can receive less than six dollars per month. That rate will be allowed for so slight an injury as the loss of a little finger. Other comparisons of rates are instructive. The rate for the loss of a hand or a foot, which was eight dollars in 1865 and fifteen dollars in 1866, was raised to eighteen dollars in 1872, twenty-four dollars in 1883, and has been, since 1888, thirty dollars. In 1865, a soldier who had lost an arm at the shoulder joint or a leg at the hip joint could receive only eight dollars per month; in 1898, the same disability was pensioned at forty-five dollars per month. Prior to 1872, the loss of both hands was pensioned at twenty-five dollars per month; the rate is now one hundred dollars. The loss of the sight of both eyes is now pensioned at seventy-two dollars as compared with twenty-five dollars in 1872. The highest rates for all injuries and disabilities of service origin are applicable to the soldiers of the Spanish-American war. Total deafness of one ear entitles them to a higher allowance than was provided for entire disability to perform manual labor at the close of the Civil War. The system under the

act of 1890 is not, however, applicable to those engaged in the recent hostilities.

Though War with Spain pensions are granted under the provisions of the general law, the Pension Bureau has classified them separately. All claims for disabilities contracted in the service since April 21, 1898, both in the volunteer and regular army and in the navy, are being charged to the account of the War with Spain. No date has yet been fixed as the termination of this war for pensionable purposes, and all claims that are filed come under that classification, provided the disability was incurred since April 21, 1898, and without regard to the location of the command at the time that the disability was incurred. It follows then that those who have received, or may hereafter receive, pensions on account of injuries in putting down the Philippine insurrection after the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain, are classified as War with Spain pensioners.

The following table exhibits the action taken by the Pension Bureau up to June 30, 1901, in passing upon applications for pensions on account of service in the War with Spain, and also shows the expenditures charged to that war:

Year ending June 30.	Original Applications Filed.		Claims Allowed During Year.		Number on Roll at end of Year.		Expenditures.
	Invalids.	Widows, etc.	Invalids.	Widows, etc.	Invalids.	Widows, etc.	
1899	15,009	2,551	125	178	123	176	$28,606 81
1900	12,038	1,383	801	710	882	873	332,905 25
1901	12,814	1,834	2,795	1,240	3,555	2,049	1,175,225 76
Total . .	39,861	5,768	3,721	2,128	. . .	. . .	$1,536,737 82

Of the 3,555 invalids on the roll on June 30, 1901, the minimum rate of six dollars per month is received by 1,240.

The number who receive over six dollars and not more than twelve dollars is 1,368. A rate in excess of twelve dollars is paid to 947 invalids.

An interesting comparison of the average annual value of each pension on the roll, each general law pension, each act of 1890 pension and each Spanish War pension is made in the following table: [1]

Year.	Average annual value of—			
	Each pension.	Each general law pension.	Each act of June 27, 1890, pension.	Each Spanish War pension.
1894	$134 20	$155 08	$115 12	
1895	133 99	158 39	112 15	
1896	133 39	161 05	109 55	
1897	133 17	162 04	109 25	
1898	131 79	163 21	108 11	
1899	132 74	165 70	108 99	$196 53
1900	132 39	167 53	108 28	169 10
1901	131 87	168 67	108 09	153 50

The high annual value of Spanish war pensions in 1899 was due to the fact that the first allowances were made to those who were suffering from pronounced disabilities of a severe nature. Later on, pensions were granted to applicants whose disabilities were less serious in character. In many cases, claimants were accorded the benefit of the doubt as to the existence of a pensionable disability where the disabled state was due to sickness rather than to permanent injuries. The decrease is also largely due to the fact that, with a return to favorable surroundings, the physical condition of most of those who served in this war is constantly improving.

The Commissioner of Pensions has said that many of these pensioners will be ordered for re-examination at stated periods, and that when the disability shall have ceased to

[1] See report of Commissioner of Pensions for 1901, 6.

exist in a pensionable degree the pensions must stop in accordance with the law. It will be noted that the average annual value of pensions of the War with Spain is still largely in excess of the value under the act of 1890, but has fallen below the value of pensions under the general law.

The Pension Bureau has not yet attempted an estimate of the ultimate cost in pensions of the Spanish and Philippine wars, and it is not believed that any reliable estimate of that kind is practicable at the present time. Military operations in the Philippines are still in progress, and pensions granted on account of these operations will be charged to the War with Spain. The adjudication of claims originating in that war has not progressed sufficiently to form the basis for an estimate as to the percentage of such claims that will ultimately be allowed. Nor can we know the rates of pensions to which the applicants may become entitled by the increase or decrease of the pensionable disabilities.

There was a striking difference between the Civil War and the War with Spain. The former lasted four years and was characterized by desperate fighting and unprecedented casualties upon the battlefield, in addition to an enormous number of deaths from disease in camp and prison. The War Department estimates that, at one time or another, a total of 2,213,365 men served in the Union army. On the contrary, the War with Spain was short and characterized by few direct casualties from shot and shell. Very serious injuries, however, resulted from disease incident to camp life and exposure to unusual climatic conditions. Within one hundred days from the declaration of war, Spain was seeking peace, and the average term of service was only about six months. About 223,000 volunteer troops were called into service during the war. Since the treaty of peace, another volunteer army of over 39,000 officers and men has been used in our new possessions, and, on June 30, 1901, the regular army had reached a strength of 81,586 officers and men.

In 1872, Commissioner of Pensions Baker reported that

about six per cent of the Union soldiers had filed claims for impaired health or disability resulting from their service. In the valuable discussion of Spanish war pensions in his last report,[1] Commissioner of Pensions Evans says that already claims amounting in number to about twenty per cent of the men enlisted for the Spanish war have been filed. This fact he attributes to the importunities and persuasions of an army of attorneys, solicitors and drummers, who are eagerly seeking applications with the view of securing the twenty-five dollar fee legally collectible for each claim allowed. He cites the case of a regiment which had a membership of fifty-three commissioned officers and 937 enlisted men. It suffered no battlefield casualties and but one officer and twenty-two men died of disease while in the service. There have already been filed 477 claims for pensions on account of service in this organization for disabilities alleged to have been contracted during the brief term of its existence.

Under the system adopted by the War Department each volunteer soldier, upon his muster out, was required to state over his own signature whether he was then suffering from any disabilities. The great majority of the volunteers stated that they had no disabilities. In this statement they were corroborated by the certificate of the commanding officer of each company and by that of an army surgeon, who was required to make a physical examination of each soldier mustered out. Yet thousands of applications for pensions have been filed on behalf of these identical men in which are set forth in great detail the dates and circumstances of origin of a number of disabilities incurred in service, with a statement that they have continued ever since. The names of the disabilities were usually suggested to the claimants by enterprising solicitors. In some cases, forty-eight hours before executing his declaration for a pension, the claimant declared over his own signature that he had no disability of any kind;

[1] See pages 43 to 48 of his report for 1901, to which the writer is much indebted.

the commanding officer confirmed the declaration, and the surgeon examined the soldier and certified that he had no disability.

Some of the Washington pension attorneys have removed to San Francisco, where nearly all the soldiers returning from the Philippines are mustered out of the service, and where convalescents are constantly being discharged from the Presidio Hospital on surgeons' certificates of disability. Competition between attorneys in persuading soldiers to execute declarations for pensions before leaving San Francisco has been very keen. The methods employed in securing business have been most unscrupulous. The Chief of the Law Division of the Pension Bureau has the following to say of the activities of the claim agents:[1]

"The distribution of circulars among the soldiers prior to their discharge, which is not prohibited, was soon found to be entirely inadequate to satisfy the ambitions of one class of attorneys, who proceeded to hire men employed in various capacities at the Presidio to act as solicitors for them. Men and women were sent into the Presidio Hospital as visitors to the sick, under the guise of charity and various other pretexts, whose only purpose was to pour into the ears of such soldiers as they could glowing accounts of the system of pensions provided by law, and the merits of some particular attorney who made a business of prosecuting claims. Soldiers were procured to execute declarations for pension before their discharge, and such declarations were postdated and retained by the attorneys until after the muster out, when they were forwarded to the Pension Bureau. It has been found necessary by the commandant and the surgeon in command at the Presidio to take measures to prevent attorneys and those connected with them from entering the hospital, and to constantly change the details of the ambulance drivers and hospital men, etc.; by the authorities of San Francisco, to keep a patrol just outside the Presidio gates when occasion demands; by the railroad companies, to prohibit solicitors from importuning soldiers in the depots and ferries; and by this Bureau, to detail a special examiner to assist in every way possible in protecting the soldiers from the machinations of disreputable attorneys and their solicitors. Officers of the hospital have been approached even by saloon-keepers in the interest of attorneys to secure information from the records."

[1] See report of Commissioner of Pensions for 1901, 105-111.

Under such conditions, it is not difficult to account for the promptness with which claims for pensions on account of the War with Spain and in the Philippines are being presented. And, when the opportunities for fraud in the preparation of testimony and the untrustworthy character of the work of pension medical examining boards are considered, it will readily be seen that there is grave danger of a large number of fraudulent and unmeritorious claims being allowed. Under the present system of pension administration, as established by law, the most honest and efficient Commissioner of Pensions is powerless to properly safeguard the National Treasury.

Cost of Our Pension System.

In gaining an adequate conception of the importance of our pension system, the following statistical information will be of value:

Paid for army pensions since July 1, 1865	$2,608,004,258.63
Paid for navy pensions since July 1, 1865	58,900,330.60
Fees of examining surgeons	17,375,192.13
Cost of disbursement and agencies	13,140,883.73
Pension Bureau, salaries	48,696,646.50
Pension Bureau, other expenses	8,610,616.60
Total	$2,754,727,928.19

The outstanding principal of the public debt of the United States was, when at its highest point, in 1866, $2,773,000,000. The pension expenditures since the Civil War have already reached that amount, and are continuing at the rate of $140,000,000 per year. The comparative importance of pension disbursements before and after the Civil War is shown by the fact that the amount expended from July 1, 1790, to June 30, 1865, was but $96,445,000.

Within the space assigned to the present paper, it has been impossible to make more than passing comment upon the administrative evils of the pension system. Billions of dollars have been paid from the National Treasury under

methods which would not be tolerated in any business enterprise in the world. However well disposed the officers of the Pension Bureau may be, it is not now possible for them to render justice to claimants and to safeguard the interests of the government. In some of its aspects, the present system seems well adapted to facilitate fraud rather than to check it. The truth of these statements is abundantly attested by the published reports of a long succession of Commissioners of Pensions. In his last report, Commissioner Evans expresses emphatic concurrence in the protests of his predecessors against the wrongs of the system with whose administration they were charged. He makes a most earnest plea for reform, but the influences opposed to a business-like administration of the Pension Bureau are so strong at Washington that there is little hope that Congress will authorize any change for the better.

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ARISTOTLE AS A SOCIOLOGIST.

Sociology is ordinarily spoken of as a "new science." In a certain sense this is true; yet social thought is as old as history, and social philosophy as an organized discipline has existed, at least, since Aristotle. Only in a very special sense, therefore, is it right to speak of sociology as a new science. If we understand by sociology merely the effort to apply to social phenomena the method of quantitative measurement, and to interpret these phenomena as merely the most complex manifestation of the forces of the physical universe, then we are justified in regarding it as a new science; for sociology in this sense is the product of modern positivism. But those who reject the mechanical theory of society, together with the idea that the scientific interpretation of society must be limited thereto, have no right to speak of sociology as a new science. When we regard modern sociology as "the more critical, more systematized study of the social reality," we do not make it a "new" science, but rather a renovated and reorganized science. The beginnings of sociology as a science in this sense certainly lie far back of the modern scientific era.

Comte is likewise usually spoken of as the "founder" of sociology. It is true that he invented the name "sociology," and for this the world is indebted to him. But what Comte really stands for in the history of social thought is the mechanical or physical theory of society.[1] With him "social physics" and "sociology" were interchangeable terms, since in his view the phenomena of the physical world and of society are *of one sort*.[2] Hence he proposed the interpretation of the phenomena of society in terms of the physical universe. If we mean by sociology the study of society

[1] See Comte's *Cours de Philosophie Positive, Permière Leçon* and *Deuxième Leçon* (Martineau's translation, Introduction, chaps. i and ii).

[2] *Cours de Philosophie Positive, Deuxième Leçon:* "Quoique les phénomènes (*i. e.*, of physiology and sociology) soient certainement homogènes."

from *that* point of view, Comte seems to be fairly entitled to be called the "founder" of the science;[1] but he cannot consistently be regarded as the founder of the science of society by those who reject his materialistic premises, though they may recognize in the fullest degree his service to that science in urging, as he did, the necessity of freeing it from speculation and from "fractionalism." The scientific study of society, in the sense of social analysis, can be traced through scores of careful observers and thinkers back to the period of Greek philosophy. Unless some peculiar ground of distinction between science and philosophy, other than the mere degree of generality of knowledge, is accepted (such as the positivistic distinction), Aristotle rather than Comte may be said to have been the first seriously to attempt a science of society. He at any rate first attempted systematically the collection and rationalization of knowledge about men in society; and he is therefore entitled as much as any one to be looked upon as the founder of sociology in the sense of general social philosophy.

It may be objected that Aristotle investigated, not social phenomena in general, but only political phenomena; and is hence, properly speaking, entitled to be regarded only as the founder of political science, which is not sociology but merely one of the many particular social sciences. An examination of the *Politica*, however, will reveal the fact that Aristotle treats in it of many things which are far beyond the limits of political science, even as most liberally defined. The fact is Aristotle had a theory of man's social life as a whole; and the *Politica* contains a social as well as a political philosophy. The *Politica* may indeed be characterized as a system of social philosophy worked out from the point of view of the state—a point of view which both Comte and Spencer notably have taken, and which most sociologists are apt to take sooner or later, since the state is the association which

[1] But see Barth's *Philosophie der Geschichte als Sociologie*, pp. 56, 57, and Flint's *History of the Philosophy of History*, vol. i, pp. 585, 586.

is the natural unit of all social thought. The general attitude of Aristotle, therefore, may be said to be that of a sociologist in the proper sense of the term. Indeed, it might not be too much to say that he seems to treat of the science and art of government only secondarily; for only the last three [1] of the books of the *Politica* are strictly given to that topic.

If Aristotle was not only a social philosopher, but the first to put social philosophy on a definitely scientific basis of fact, then the modern sociologist would do well to investigate Aristotle's sociological theories and method. His labor will be richly repaid, for he will find in the *Politica* the germ of many a modern theory and many old ones that are still worth considering. Believing thoroughly that the theories of Aristotle are still worthy of consideration by modern social thinkers and scientists, I shall set forth as briefly as possible and nearly in his own language,[2] the more important points of his social philosophy.

Aristotle begins with the simple assumption that there are two primary and essential forms of human association,—the association of male and female for the procreation of children, and the association of natural rulers and natural subjects for safety.[3] Both these forms of association are natural, not deliberative; and both are found exemplified in the household in its primary or simplest form. All other associations of men grow out of these two fundamental associations. The household, *e.g.*, is the association naturally formed for the supply of daily wants.[4] The village in its most natural form is in turn derived from the household; it is the simplest association of several households for more than ephemeral purposes. Finally, the state is the association

[1] Following Bekker's order.

[2] J. E. C. Welldon's translation is the one chiefly followed. W. L. Newman's edition of the Greek text, with introduction and notes, is also valuable and has been frequently consulted.

[3] *Politica*, bk. i, 2.

[4] *Pol.*, i, 2.

composed of several villages in its complete form.[1] Its criterion is full independence, self-sufficiency and self-government.[2] Like the household and the village, the state has a natural existence; for in it the simpler forms of association attain their complete development.[3]

Thus the state is a natural institution, and man is naturally a political animal.[4] The stateless man; the individual not living in organized society, if his isolation is natural and not accidental, is either superhuman or very low in the scale of development.[5] Furthermore, the impulse to political association is innate; even where there is no need of mutual service, men are none the less anxious to live together;[6] but at the same time it must not be denied that the common advantage of all is also a motive of union.[7] Organized social life is essential to the existence of man as man; one who is incapable of association with others or is independent and has no need of such association is either a brute or a god.[8] The human individual has been developed in and through society. In the order of Nature, therefore, the state is prior to the individual, just as the whole must be prior to its part.[9] It is the function or faculty of a thing which makes it what it is; and the individual outside of the state has lost his function as an individual.

Finally, man is a political animal in a higher sense than a bee or any gregarious creature; for man is the only animal endowed with articulate speech.[10] Other animals do not advance beyond the point of perceiving pain and pleasure and signifying these perceptions to one another through mere sounds. The object of speech, on the other hand, is to indi-

[1] *Pol.*, i, 2.
[2] *Idem.*
[3] *Idem.*
[4] *Idem.*
[5] *Idem.*
[6] *Pol.*, iii, 6.
[7] *Idem.*
[8] *Pol.*, i, 2.
[9] *Idem.*
[10] *Idem.*

cate advantage and disadvantage, and therefore also justice and injustice. Now these are the principles of that association which constitutes a household or a state.[1] Just action is, accordingly, bound up with the existence of the state; organized human society, in brief, has a moral as well as natural basis.[2] Such is Aristotle's theory of the genesis and nature of human society—a theory which subsequent research has in the main tended to confirm.

After having thus outlined his social philosophy, Aristotle passes to the consideration of what he calls the "law" or science of the household—since the household is the primary constitutive element of organized society. The science of the household he divides into three parts, corresponding to the relations of master and slave, husband and wife, parent and children. To these three a fourth may perhaps be added —the art of money-getting.[3]

Aristotle defends slavery. His theory is that there are persons for whom a life of slavery is advantageous and just; there are natural slaves, who by nature are not their own masters, but belong to some one else.[4] Indeed, the principle of rule and subjection is universal throughout nature, and is equally inevitable and beneficent.[5] Where several parts combine to form one common whole, the relation of ruler and subject invariably manifests itself.[6] The relation of master and slave is, therefore, but one manifestation of this law of subordination which holds good throughout nature generally. Those who are only so far rational beings as to understand reason without possessing it are natural slaves.[7] But natural slavery must not be confused with legal slavery.[8] Legal slavery is partly right and partly

[1] *Pol.*, i, 2.
[2] *Idem.*
[3] *Pol.*, i, 3.
[4] *Pol.*, i, 4.
[5] *Pol.*, i, 5.
[6] *Idem.*
[7] *Idem.*
[8] *Pol.*, i, 6.

wrong. In some cases actual slaves are not so naturally; yet on the other hand there are cases where this distinction does not exist and where the relation of master and slave is mutually advantageous and just.[1] Wherever the relation is in accordance with Nature's ordinance, there is mutual helpfulness and friendship between master and slave. But just the contrary is the case where it is unnatural and depends upon law or force.[2]

After this discussion of slavery, Aristotle devotes considerable attention to the art of money-getting or finance. Here his attitude is that characteristic of the whole ancient world. He does not favor the acquisition of money for money's sake. There should be a definite limit to one's possessions; the amount should be enough for independence and a good life, but not more.[3] The mere acquisition of money is not the function of true finance; its end is in something beyond mere accumulation—in living well.[4] Aristotle looks with disfavor upon trade and commercial pursuits; for he believes that the agricultural pursuits are the only source of true wealth.[5] Manufactures he does not refer to, for manufactures in his time, unless ranked among the arts, were mostly included in the agricultural pursuits. Finance, so far as it follows Nature, he says, depends universally upon the fruits of the earth and animals.[6] Hence, too, Aristotle's opposition to interest. Of all forms of money-getting, he says, there is none which so well deserves abhorrence as usury or interest-taking; for by it, it is money itself which produces the gain, instead of serving the purpose for which it was devised. No form of money-getting does so much violence to Nature as this.[7]

As regards the natural relations between husband and

[1] *Pol.*, i, 6.
[2] *Idem.*
[3] *Pol.*, i, 8.
[4] *Pol.*, i, 9.
[5] *Pol.*, i, 9, 10.
[6] *Pol.*, i, 10.
[7] *Idem.*

wife, parent and children, they are analogous, Aristotle says, in the one case to the relations between ruler and subject under a constitutional form of government; in the other case, to the relations between a king and his subjects.[1] The husband and father is naturally the head of the household.[2] His rule over wife and children is in both cases a rule over free persons; but in the wife's case the rule is constitutional, and in the children's regal. In the former it is assumed that both ruler and subject are naturally equal and indistinguishable; while in the latter the ideal is that the ruler should be distinct from his subjects in nature, but one with them in race.[3]

The second and third books of the *Politica* may be passed over; for while the discussion in them is largely from the general social point of view, it may properly be claimed as belonging to political philosophy, perhaps even in the strict sense. In the second book Aristotle discusses the different forms of polity or social organization, beginning with the scheme proposed in Plato's *Republic.* Many valuable side lights are thrown upon Aristotle's social philosophy by this discussion of various polities. In the third book he discusses the nature of the state. He defines the state as the association of families and villages in a complete and independent existence[4]—a definition which savors of a social philosopher rather than a political scientist. A local association or an association to prevent mutual injury or to promote commercial exchange, Aristotle argues, cannot possibly constitute a state, as all these conditions do not necessarily imply a state. A state is only realized when there is an association of families and households in well-living with a view to complete and independent existence.[5] But in all this Aristotle is evidently embodying a social ideal; he has left the strictly

[1] *Pol.*, i, 12.
[2] *Idem.*
[3] *Idem.*
[4] *Pol.*, iii, 9.
[5] *Idem.*

political point of view for the broader outlook of social philosophy. Aristotle's doctrine of the nature of the state, therefore, may be characterized as largely the doctrine of a social philosopher.

Book four is a discussion of the nature of the most desirable life for the state. It is Aristotle's doctrine of a perfect society,—his social ethic. Now the most desirable life for the state cannot be known unless we know the nature of the most desirable life for the individual.[1] The elements of welfare or of a happy life for the individual, Aristotle says, are three: external goods, goods of the body, and goods of the soul.[2] The happy man must possess all three, but in different proportions. For external goods, like instruments, have a limit, namely, their utility, and it follows that the excess of them is either hurtful or in no way beneficial to their possessor; whereas, if we take any good of the soul, the greater the amount of it, the greater is its utility.[3] It is for the sake of the soul that the body and property are naturally desirable and should be desired by all sensible persons, not the soul for the sake of these. Happiness for the individual, therefore, ultimately depends upon the goods of the soul, which are character and intelligence.[4] The same is true of the state. The best state is one which is happy and doing well; but it is impossible to be happy and do well without acting virtuously; and the virtues of a state are in effect and form identical with those of an individual.[5] The best life, therefore, whether for the individual or for the state, is one which possesses virtue furnished with external advantages to such a degree as to be capable of actions according to virtue.[6] The best polity, therefore, is necessarily the system under which anybody can do best and live happily.[7] But

[1] *Pol.*, iv, 1.
[2] *Idem.*
[3] *Idem.*
[4] *Idem.*
[5] *Pol.*, iv, 1.
[6] *Idem.*
[7] *Pol.*, iv, 2.

happiness is to be defined as well-doing; for action of some sort is the end both for the life of the individual and of the state, though such action may be self-contained.[1]

Aristotle is not in doubt as to how the state is to realize the ideal which he sets up for it. He has a theory of social dynamics as well as of social ethics. The virtuous character of the state, he says, is not an affair of fortune, but of knowledge and of moral purpose.[2] Such character can only be realized when all the citizens who enjoy political rights are virtuous. The point to be considered, therefore, is the means by which a man becomes virtuous.[3] Now there are three means by which a person becomes good and virtuous, namely, nature, habit and reason.[4] Nature is given and is beyond our control; but habit and reason are largely matters of education. Education consists of two parts, habituation and direct instruction. The education of the habits must precede that of the reason, and the education of the body that of the intellect.[5] But as reason or intellect is the end or complete development of our nature, it is with reference to it that we should order the training of the habits.[6] Hence, the education of the body must precede that of the soul, and the education of the irrational part of the soul, the appetites, must precede the education of the rational part, the intellect; but the education of the appetite is for the sake of the intellect, and that of the body for the sake of the soul.[7] The principle, therefore, to be observed in education, as in everything, is that the lower is for the sake of the higher.

The education of the young is, therefore, Aristotle says, a matter which has a paramount claim upon the attention of the legislator.[8] The superintendence of such education, he

[1] *Pol.*, iv, 3.
[2] *Pol.*, iv, 13.
[3] *Idem.*
[4] *Idem.*
[5] *Pol.*, v, 3.
[6] *Pol.*, iv, 15.
[7] *Idem.*
[8] *Pol.*, v, 1.

further says, should be a public affair rather than in private hands.[1] And it is not right to suppose that any citizen is his own master in this regard, but rather that all belong to the state; for each individual is a member of the state and the superintendence of any part is naturally relative to that of the whole.[2] Further, the general education of all citizens should be one and the same.[3] For in all states to a certain extent all the citizens must alike participate in the alternation of rule and subjection.[4] As the same person is to become first a subject and afterwards a ruler, the legislator should endeavor through education to make all men good. But the educational system must always be relative to the particular polity in which it exists.[5] As to the general character of education, it should be liberal and noble and the utilitarian element should be subordinate.[6] Citizens should be taught what is indispensable and salutary, but still more what is moral *per se*.[7] It should fit men, not only to engage in business rightly, but to spend their leisure nobly; for the right employment of leisure necessitates a higher degree of virtue than either business or war.[8] Finally, the end to be sought in education is always the moral character of the citizen, for the higher this character, the higher the polity it produces.[9]

Such in brief outline is the social philosophy of Aristotle; but the wealth of suggestion that reveals itself to the careful student in the pages of the *Politica* we have not more than touched.

The chief value, however, of the study of Aristotle to the modern sociologist lies in the matter of method. Aristotle's method was on the whole realistic and inductive, and yet in the spirit of his treatment he was philosophical, without bias

[1] *Pol.*, v, 1.
[2] *Idem.*
[3] *Idem.*
[4] *Pol.*, iv, 14.
[5] *Pol.*, v, 1.
[6] *Pol.*, v, 2, 3.
[7] *Pol.*, iv, 14.
[8] *Pol.*, v, 3; iv, 15.
[9] *Pol.*, v, 1; iv, 14, 15.

or trace of "one-sided" views. He started with the facts in human society as they presented themselves to him, and sought for their explanation in the nature of man, without any *metaphysical* assumption as to the relation of man to his physical environment. In thus explaining human society primarily in terms of man rather than in terms of the physical universe, Aristotle was, I believe, truly scientific in his methods. He sought furthermore to reason from purely empirical data to general principles, correlating his conclusions with all known facts. Thus his method was consistent with the wide synthesis which he attempted,—it was philosophical; and his resulting interpretation of society took the form of a general social philosophy which was in accord with his whole philosophical system. In all this Aristotle contrasts strongly with Comte. No doubt Comte was right when he opposed the true method of sociology to that of *speculative* philosophy and proclaimed the separation of the former from the latter. But he was wrong in divorcing sociology absolutely from philosophy, as he did by denying a positive character to all knowledge which transcended that of "social physics." Philosophy like science tends more and more to assume a non-speculative character and to rear itself on a basis of facts. A true philosophy and a true social science cannot therefore be opposed to each other, as Aristotle clearly saw. On the contrary sociology must, in order to be something more than a fragmentary and one-sided interpretation of society, take on a philosophic character, that is, as has been said by Professor A. W. Small, "Sociology to deserve respect must become an accredited section of general philosophy." [1]

Before concluding this paper we must notice two wrong ways, among many, of viewing Aristotle's social philosophy. One is the attitude of the man who looks upon Aristotle as an authority from whom there is no appeal; who supposes that his social theories are something final, his system so com-

[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1898, p. 113.

plete and perfect that we have only to turn to it to find the full truth. The other is the attitude of the man who views Aristotle's social philosophy as if it were a product of the nineteenth century, who forgets its social and historical setting and considers it merely as a product of reason, not as also a product of the conditions of its age. Greater injustice could hardly be done Aristotle than by these two views of his philosophy,—not even by the man who refuses to look into his books. Aristotle must be put at the beginning, not at the end, of social philosophy. Just because he was the first truly scientific social thinker, his theories must not be taken as final nor considered as the embodiment of the full truth. Nor must they be hastily condemned because they in some places jar upon our modern feelings or fail to fit in with modern conditions. Their true worth can be perceived only when they are viewed in their historical perspective. Regarded as a product of Greek life and looked upon as the first attempt to work out a consistent and systematic philosophy of human society, Aristotle's theories have a double significance and a double value to the social thinker of the present.

For this very reason, as well as for others, Aristotle's social philosophy may well be taken as a point of departure by the beginner in sociology. The calmness of Aristotle's reasoning and the sanity of his theories, as compared with those of many modern writers, will be found a wholesome corrective for much of the "scientific" speculation of the present; while the historical point of view afforded by taking Aristotle as a point of departure will keep the young student from falling into many misconceptions. In a certain sense, therefore, a return to Aristotle is most desirable in present-day sociology. Taking Aristotle as a starting point and noticing the development in social thought since his day would clarify the atmosphere of social speculation wonderfully; while some of the old Greek concepts of man and society might still be found to be well worth exploiting.

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PROFESSOR PATTEN'S THEORY OF PROSPERITY.

Since the publication of his *Dynamic Economics*, Professor Patten has seemed open to the charge of turning his back on his chosen specialty to embroil himself with sociologists, psychologists, historians and other quarrelsome persons. He began his poaching in other preserves with the modest effort to wrest from sociologists the study of the origin, even, of society. His claim that in its origin as well as in its later development society is mainly economic called forth vigorous protest, notably from Professor Giddings, to whom the book under review is dedicated. But this was as nothing compared with the outcry caused by Professor Patten's next enterprise. In his *Theory of Social Forces* (1896) he proposed an explanation of the nature and laws of growth of the mental mechanism which caused psychologists at first to gasp and then to clamor against the daring invader. The discussion which ensued was eloquent not so much of what is, but of what is not, known of the working of the human mind. These ventures on Doctor Patten's part were, however, mere preliminaries. His greatest undertaking was the attempt to give a concrete illustration of the economic interpretation of history in his *Development of English Thought* (1899). This work, which is still fresh in the public mind, brought down upon him the condemnation of a body of students larger and more influential than the sociologists or the psychologists, the historians. He was accused of making up the history he professed to interpret. Some critics said that history, even such reputable history as that of England since the Conquest, is still too incomplete to admit of interpretation. Other, or even the same critics, declared that history, when accurately narrated, interprets itself and that it was preposterous for a person who did not claim to be an historian to attempt to instruct specialists in that subject as

to the real significance of the facts which they were so laboriously collecting. Still others objected that human motives in the past, as in the present, were complex and that no simple scheme of interpretation, whether economic, moral or religious, could serve any but a partisan end. They urged the danger that a writer who started out with a preconceived theory of historic causation would refuse to accept as facts any events not in harmony with it, and cited examples in point from Professor Patten's pages. Finally the old cry was raised that a nation's history is the biographies of its great men, and that greatness or genius is too miraculous in its origin and development to be "interpreted" according to any scheme.

Even sincere admirers of Professor Patten, who have followed these controversies, will be apt to welcome with relief the *Theory of Prosperity*, in which he so unequivocally returns to the domain of economics. But it would do scant justice to his intelligence to assume that the work of the last ten years represents the by-products of his restless and original mind, and that the last book can be understood if treated as the next in succession to his *Dynamic Economics*. The fact is far otherwise. Professor Patten is nothing if he is not persistent in following up a line of thought once entered upon. If he has seemed to turn aside from economics it is only because he felt that he had pushed his analysis as far as it could be pushed, with any profit, on the basis of the premises with which he started. His successive tilts with sociologists, psychologists and historians were undertaken in the conscious endeavor to enlarge the scope of economic speculation. Only when it is clearly perceived what he was driving at in these seemingly uneconomic excursions can the significance of his latest work be understood.

It is in no spirit of apology for Professor Patten's deviations from the straight and narrow path of academic specialization that this attempt is made to indicate the relation between his recent writings. As a distinguished inventor

has remarked, the progress of science and discovery is largely the result of the untiring pursuit of unlikely hypotheses. It follows that the world's debt to the few thinkers in each generation who have the temerity to look at things in a little different way from those around them is incalculable. An original thinker, such as Professor Patten is universally conceded to be, should be gladly welcomed in any field and requires no excuse for venturing where he pleases so long as his efforts are constructively directed. That his investigations rarely attain to finality is as little to be cherished against him as is the inventor's proverbial failure to turn his discoveries to commercial use.

In order to understand the unfolding of Professor Patten's ideas, it is necessary to go back of the *Dynamic Economics* and see its relation to earlier work. His first book, *The Premises of Political Economy*, was an attempt to recast the economics of Mill so that it would apply to American conditions. What those conditions were was impressed on the author's mind by some years of study in Germany, preceded and followed by life in rural Illinois. This experience taught him the importance of habits of consumption in shaping national life and character and at the same time led him to distrust the assumption that individuals know what is best for themselves and if left alone will secure it. Pursuing the same line of thought still further, he brought out later his monograph on *The Consumption of Wealth*, which concludes the first period in his development.

The *Economic Basis of Protection* is the first step in a somewhat different direction. He believed that free trade was good for England, but not for America, and that led him to inquire into the differences in environment and national traits that distinguished the two countries. From this concrete study he arrived at the conclusion that the weakness in English economics is that it makes no allowance for qualitative changes in men and goods. He attempted to correct this error in his *Dynamic Economics*, in which he represents

progress and change as normal phenomena and attempts to reduce them to law.

The third period in his thought began also with a concrete study, his *Interpretation of Ricardo*. He became convinced that local conditions not only determine what economic policies are desirable, but that they also shape men's ideas and even their modes of reasoning. To put the theory to the test he undertook to show that Ricardo was a believer in free trade because he argued from the point of view of a city capitalist, while Malthus was a protectionist because he argued like a farmer. The latter proposition was easier of proof than the former, but in both instances the attempt was crowned with a considerable degree of success.

The *Theory of Social Forces* and *The Development of English Thought* are products of this third period. If, as Professor Patten came to believe, even ideas, beliefs and modes of reasoning are changed by local conditions, the old associational psychology and the old utilitarian ethics are no longer adequate bases for economics. Inspired by this conviction he set about formulating new psychological principles in order to show how previously unobserved properties of mind act as social forces in shaping human progress. His own estimate of the value of this first attempt is frankly expressed in the introduction to *The Theory of Social Forces*. He there says: "I feel that I must make an apology for injecting so much psychologic discussion into this essay. To many readers this will seem foreign to the subject and may arouse prejudices which will interfere with a correct appreciation of the other facts. It should, however, be kept in mind that every social philosophy has, as its basis, some theory of psychology. The doctrines of Locke and Hume have proved a most admirable basis for the old social philosophy. They ignore, however, the elements upon which the social forces rest. A new social philosophy cannot pass beyond the inductive stage until these factors are recognized and a picture of mental activity constructed which empha-

sizes the elements neglected by the old philosophy. Even if the type of psychology which I present is faulty, it can at least serve as a provisional philosophy until psychologic research is far enough advanced to furnish a better basis."

The *Development of English Thought* is even more directly the outgrowth of his essay on Ricardo. In it he attempts to do for the whole English nation what the essay tried to do with reference to two individuals. Speaking of the undertaking, he says: "The theory presented is scarcely open to question, though some of its corollaries may not be evident. Survival is determined and progress created by a struggle for the requisites of which the supply is insufficient. These requisites are the goods for which men strive or the means by which they meet evils. A group of such definite objects, upon which the life and happiness of each race depend, always exists. The environment formed by this group of economic objects surrounding and supporting a given race, changes with the several objects on which the interests of the race are centered. With the new objects come new activities and new requisites for survival. To meet these new conditions, the motives, instincts and habits of the race are modified; new modes of thought are formed; and thus, by the modification of institutions, ideals and customs, all of the characteristics of the civilization are reconstructed. These changes take place in a regular order; the series repeats itself in each environment. In its amplification and illustration lies the economic interpretation of history."

Professor Patten had two reasons for selecting England for his larger experiment in "economic interpretation." In the first place, the comparative isolation in which English civilization has developed makes the problem of interpretation easier than it would be for either of the great continental nations. Secondly, English experience had supplied the basis for the three economic systems in which he was most interested; that of Ricardo, that of Marx, and, in a

more roundabout way, that of George. He hoped, through his profounder study, to show that the premises on which each of these writers based his conclusions in regard to the future of society were only of temporary validity.

It would take far too much space to attempt an estimate of *The Development of English Thought.* It is Professor Patten's own opinion that his method of interpretation answered fairly well until he came to Adam Smith. Here he admits it broke down, and it was his partial failure to portray Adam Smith satisfactorily that led him to formulate the leading distinction that appears in his *Theory of Prosperity*, that between "existing conditions" and "heredity" as determinants of income.

From this review of Professor Patten's writings it must be apparent that far from "turning his back" on economics, in recent years, he has been working away with direct reference to the needs of that science. His incursions into the field of sociology were not freebooting expeditions, but reasoned demands for a resurvey of a doubtful portion of the domain to which sociologists laid claim. His attempts to reconstruct some of the principles of psychology were intended less as contributions to that subject than as appeals to psychologists to push their investigations into channels that might be helpful to economics. His *Development of English Thought* was not history, but an attempt to interpret history by the light of social philosophy. All are products of a vigorous and original mind, dissatisfied, as what mind is not, with the present stage of development of the social sciences and seeking to break the bonds of tradition by pointing out new fields for economic research. Whatever the ultimate verdict in regard to these works as contributions to knowledge may be, there can be no question as to their value as contributions to thought.

After such fruitful years it was inevitable that Professor Patten should return to the study of economic problems in an iconoclastic mood. This is perhaps the most striking

characteristic of *The Theory of Prosperity*. Always heedless of disagreements between himself and other so-called authoritative writers, the author appears in this last book as almost reckless in his masterful disregard of conflicting theories, his own of earlier date not excluded.

As already suggested, *The Theory of Prosperity* is divided into two parts: (1) Income as Determined by Existing Conditions (A Study of Efforts and Satisfactions); and (2) Income as Determined by Heredity (A Study of Discontent and its Remedy). Each part is divided in turn into three chapters, as follows: Part I. (1) Work and Pay, (2) Monopoly Advantage, (3) Investments. Part II. (1) Income as Fixed by Struggle, (2) Income as Increased by Adjustment, (3) Income as Modified by Economic Rights. The basis for this arrangement is clearly set forth in the *Introduction*. Attention is there called to the fact that when the concepts wages, profits and rent were first formulated in English economics there was a distinct social class to which each one of these incomes went. At the present time, at least in the United States, it is thought that old class barriers have so far broken down that there is no distinction between landlords and capitalists, and only a shadowy one between wage-earners and property owners. If free play could be given to economic forces class barriers would be entirely swept away. The entire income of industrial society might then be described as wages, as interest, or as rent, according to the point of view. But free play will not be given to economic forces for the reason that hereditary differences will remain. As in the past such differences have perpetuated exploitation in the face of economic forces tending to put a stop to it, so in the future they will perpetuate conditions different from those which economic forces tend to establish. The division of the work into two parts is due to a recognition of these two sets of influences acting on contemporary economic phenomena. Part I considers existing conditions and forces as determinants of income; Part II conditions and

forces of the past which continue to operate in the present as hereditary qualities, traditions, institutions, etc. The distinction may be thought of as a substitute for that made prominent by Professor Clark between economic statics and economic dynamics. So considered the most striking practical difference between the two is that to Professor Patten *monopoly* is a normal result of "existing conditions," while to Professor Clark it has no place in "statics."

As is suggested in the *Introduction*, the three chapters of Part I represent different points of view from which the distribution of income may be regarded. To the individual in direct contact with the environment the relation is that between *Work and Pay*. The more evolved individual of progressive industrial society owes much, if not most, of his income to the enjoyment of some *Monopoly Advantage*. A third point of view is that of *Investments*. The present lives on the past and owes its well-being largely to past foresight. Contemporary distribution results from the interaction of the forces revealed by a study of the problem from these three view-points, or would but for the interference of the hereditary influences discussed in Part II.

In the chapter on *Work and Pay* the thought made most prominent is that production and consumption are related not as means to end, but as phases of a continuous process. Work affords goods, goods afford utility, utility is the subjective accompaniment of the generation of energy, energy expends itself in work. This is the normal round and under normal conditions—free play being given to economic forces and time being allowed for individuals to adapt themselves to existing conditions—every stage of this round is pleasurable. The last point is obscured because men are forced to work longer hours than they would themselves choose during the period of transition when they are becoming adjusted to new tasks, and because many spend their incomes in dissipation, in this way reducing, instead of restoring, their energy, and making any sort of activity painful.

Elimination of the unfit serves, however, to cut off both the overworked and the dissipated, and in time to evolve a normal type which takes as much or more pleasure in its work as it does in its rest and relaxation. The ideal of the man who works for pay should be to do nothing that is painful or distasteful, except in the face of an emergency, and to consume nothing that does not build up the organism and prepare it for further activity. If wants did not change or increased only at the same rate as productive power, the normal round that has been described would be readily attained and the whole process of distribution would be simple. Each worker would get the equivalent of what he produced.

The discussion of *Monopoly Advantage* is less satisfactory than that of *Work and Pay*. The thought runs somewhat as follows: Monopoly incomes are connected with price changes rather than with changes in value. The former are possible because productive power increases irregularly in different branches of industry and because wants expand unequally. The one certain check on monopoly is found not in the field of production, where combination is quite apt to take the place of competition, but in the field of consumption. It is the power consumers have of substituting other articles for those whose supplies are controlled by the monopolists. This power is sometimes extremely restricted, sometimes so wide that producers must accept prices just covering their expenses of production or go out of business. Sooner or later substitutes will be found for each monopolized good and the monopolist will be deprived of his advantage. At any given time there is a definite limit to the size of the monopoly income, and it follows that what one monopolist gains is at the expense of other monopolists. Early in the century the monopoly fund went largely to landowners. Later the railways acquired the lion's share of this fund. At present industrial combinations appear to have the upper hand. Elevating standards of living and lessening

the risks involved in business tend to reduce the monopoly fund, but its complete elimination can only come when consumers acquire complete power of substitution.

Though acute and suggestive this treatment of monopolies leaves a good deal to be desired. The author uses the term monopoly in such a general way, speaking at times as though it included all differential advantages in production and at times as though it did not, that the reader is left in some uncertainty as to the precise meaning of the term. Moreover, there is a gentle optimism running through the chapter that seems hardly justified by the facts. To be told that whale oil is a substitute for kerosene and prevents the Trust from putting up the price beyond a certain point, is about as consoling as would be the proposition that flying machines will one day serve as substitutes for railways and break the monopoly of transportation agencies. Perhaps the author looks for the latter development in the near future, since he affirms that "the monopoly power of railroads seems, therefore, to have reached its maximum," without offering any very convincing basis for the "therefore" in his proposition.

The chapter on *Investments* is the longest and most important in the book. It is introduced with a theory of interest so novel as to deserve extended notice and concludes with a criticism of Professor Clark's *Theory of Distribution* that is profound if not entirely convincing.

The theory of interest is briefly as follows: As explained by Böhm-Bawerk interest is at bottom the difference between the present price of future goods and the price these goods command when they have ripened into present goods. It is a phenomenon of exchange depending upon the laws governing valuation. Professor Böhm gives three reasons for the undervaluation of future goods: defects of imagination, defects of will, and the shortness and uncertainty of life. To Professor Patten these all seem to be "race differences," and hence he infers that as race differences disappear and all men become alike, interest must disappear also (p. 98).

If the undervaluation of future goods depends on "existing conditions," it must have some other and more permanent cause.

At this point it might be objected that the shortness of human life and even its uncertainty are in no sense the consequence of "race differences" and that as far as they influence the problem they may be looked to to perpetuate the phenomenon of interest. Also that it is not clear why as men become alike the prevailing type may not exhibit some weakness of imagination or even infirmity of will as did most of their ancestors. The elimination of differences has in no place been shown to involve the appearance of a perfect being and if inability to visualize the future so that it appears in consciousness with the same vividness as the present is a common characteristic of man, it also may serve to perpetuate interest. But these points are unimportant because they have no direct bearing on Professor Patten's own theory.

The permanent ground for interest is found by Professor Patten, as was to have been anticipated, in the field of consumption. Additional commodities enable men to consume better complements of goods. "Men thus value additional complements of goods more highly than the goods they have." "There is always a pressure on a man to consume more than his share or his income so as to enjoy the effect of the enlargement of this complementary consumption. Each increase in the amount of his goods gives a still greater increase in the amount of his pleasure. Consumers want to use more than they have, and make higher bids per unit of goods to get them. The greater is the quantity of the goods the greater is their value per unit. A surplus value is thus created by advances from a smaller consumption of units of goods to a larger and hence a more harmonious consumption of these units. This surplus value is the source of interest." (Pp. 100 and 102.)

It is a hazardous thing to criticise a new theory when it is first formulated. The critic is more apt than not to fail to

grasp the full significance of the innovation and to magnify points that a few words of explanation would clear up. The following objections are advanced, therefore, in a tentative way to induce Professor Patten to elucidate still further his theory of interest, in case its implications have been misunderstood.

At the very outset it is obvious that the proposition that the importance of units of commodities increases with their quantity, because they may be arranged into better complements, involves a denial of the principle of diminishing utility which Professor Patten accepts, in common with other economists, in other parts of his book. If the relation he represents really obtains, marginal utility increases, normally, as the supply increases, and the more men have the more highly they value each unit which they have. That there is some evidence in support of this view is not to be denied. The standard of living rises readily as income grows and makes even a princely income seem insufficient to those who have become accustomed to it. In discussing the relations between different classes this flexibility of the standard of living must be given great weight. On the other hand it must not be overlooked that at any given time each class has its standard of living and arranges the commodities which enter into its consumption into the complementary groups with which it has long been familiar. Additional income to an individual means at the outset simply more goods of the old kinds arranged in the old groups. It takes time to learn new combinations and unless the additional income is enjoyed continuously for a prolonged period, they will not be learned. But if the new income is expended for the old complements of goods it is hardly to be doubted that the law of diminishing utility will apply to them. On these grounds the accuracy of the author's psychology is called in question.

But even if it be admitted that the more men have, the greater is the value they ascribe to each unit, it is not easy

to see that this has any bearing on the question of interest. As Professor Patten recognizes, interest is a problem of exchange value or price, not of subjective value or marginal utility. The latter plays a role in the problem only as it can be shown to influence the exchange ratio between present and future goods. Professor Patten's formula declares that additional goods add more than their proportion of utility to the total enjoyed by each consumer. If true at all, this proposition must be as true of additional future goods as of additional present goods. If more goods mean better complements, more future goods are as much to be desired, unit for unit, as more present goods by the man who has thrown off the "race differences" which caused him to discount the future. Otherwise, the principle, instead of being general, as represented, would be of very temporary and local application. If this objection is well taken, the new basis that is proposed for interest has no connection with the phenomenon to be explained. It refers to the subjective side of value, and not to exchange value or price upon which interest depends.

Space will not be taken to attempt even a summary of Professor Patten's criticisms of the theory of distribution proposed in Professor Clark's *Distribution of Wealth*. The most important conclusion at which he arrives is, that there is a third income that is as persistent, as "normal," and as "static" as wages and interest, that is the income commonly called "rent." His explanation of the relation between rent or "funded income" and wages on the one hand, and interest on the other, is worthy of the most thoughtful attention. It will commend itself particularly to economists who are dissatisfied with the present tendency to disregard the distinction between man-made tools, machines, etc., and nature-given land.

The second part of *The Theory of Prosperity* goes far towards justifying the author's plan of arrangement. Although many will take exception to particular points in

these chapters on "Income as Determined by Struggle," "by Adjustment," and "by Economic Rights," all must admit that they bear out the author's contention that a prominent place must be given in a treatise on distribution to problems of heredity. It is gratifying to know that Professor Patten is already at work on another book which will treat specifically of this phase of the subject.

The line of thought running through Part II may be summarized as follows: There are two sorts of adjustment, "adhesive," or adjustment to the conditions of a restricted local environment, and "cohesive," or adjustment to one's fellows through various forms of social organization. In a progressive society, the former is favorable to exploitation, the latter to philanthropy. Most of the people in any given environment are accustomed to accept low returns for their efforts. As their productive power increases and more wealth results from these efforts, they will permit conquerors or rulers or upper classes to seize this additional wealth and leave to them, the toilers, only the small incomes to which they are habituated. Only gradually do the standards of the masses rise, and meantime their productive powers continue to increase, so that there is always in a developing society a considerable fund for the exploiter. But there is a limit to the amount an individual can consume without loss of energy and degeneration. Excessive consumption or over-nutrition is as fatal as its opposite. It follows that the favored individuals whose incomes grow beyond their needs fall into two classes, the dissipated, who are eliminated by the stern evolutionary process, and the philanthropic, who share their surpluses with their less favored brothers. In this fashion the exploiter, cohesively adjusted to the social group to which he belongs, turns philanthropist. The strong cease to prey upon the weak, and become their helpers.

There are four stages in man's development. Under primitive conditions his chief concern is the avoidance of

pain. He owes his survival in the struggle for existence to his strong passions, which enable him to brush aside obstacles from his path and to overpower his enemies. As he becomes completer master of the situation the pursuit of pleasure takes foremost place as a guide to his conduct. He now develops by the intensification of his desires, which push him on to ever new conquests over the environment. In this stage reason appears and serves as an important aid to his progress. As his desires are more and more fully satisfied his consumption generates surplus energy which must expend itself as activity. At first aimless and spasmodic, this activity-for-its-own-sake gradually comes to be directed along useful channels. It is guided by his impulses just as his productive efforts are guided by his desires. The difference is that while the latter are individual the former are social. Impulses are always toward the ideal, the better-than-self, and the more completely deliberative effort for goods is displaced by impulsive activity the more highly social conduct becomes. Both desires and impulses impel men in the same direction, that is toward perfect adjustment, but they do so in different ways. Desires set up standards to which individuals and classes conform as a means to realizing their own best good. Impulses set up rights, not for the benefit of the individual who asserts them, but for that of the less fortunate individuals who need protection. The goal toward which both are impelling society is pleasurable activity, resulting in the production of pleasure-giving goods, whose consumption generates more energy to be expended in renewed pleasurable activity.

The last chapter enumerates and explains the economic rights which in Professor Patten's opinion are coming to be recognized as of fundamental importance to a free society. These are: (1) Public or Market Rights, or Rights to an Open Market, to Publicity, to Security and to Co-operate. (2) Social Rights, or the Right to a Home, to Develop, to Wholesome Standards, to Homogeneity of Population, and to

Decision by Public Opinion. (3) Rights of Leisure, or the Right to Comfort, to Leisure, to Recreation, to Cleanliness, and to Scenery. (4) Exceptional Rights, or The Right to Relief and The Right of Women to Income. This list is proposed not as exhaustive, but simply by way of illustrating how economic rights react on economic relations. To the extent that public opinion recognizes these rights as valid in future years will the distribution of income be modified in conformity to their requirements and the general well-being be promoted.

The above are only a few of the suggestive thoughts presented in this part of the book. From the point of view of literary form it is much less satisfactory than Part I, while its conclusions admit less of criticism and discussion. It is a valuable piece of pioneer work in a new field and encourages the hope of important results from Professor Patten's next volume.

In closing, it is no easy task to attempt a general estimate of *The Theory of Prosperity*. It is not a complete theory of distribution. Its constructive contributions to economics are so nearly offset by its destructive attacks on accepted views that it is doubtful whether it will take its place, at last, as criticism or as dogma. Finally it contains so much that is novel, and, because of its very novelty, questionable, that the reader is puzzled to make up his own mind as to its value.

These statements may at any rate be ventured :

(1) The suggestion that the proper mode of isolating economic forces for the purpose of clearer analysis is to distinguish between those springing from existing conditions and those due to heredity seems a distinct advance over the distinctions between "natural" and "actual," "normal" and "market," or even "static" and "dynamic," heretofore made use of in economics. It recognizes the part evolution plays in shaping industrial society as do none of the others.

(2) The refutation of the cost—in the sense of pain cost —theory of value and distribution is useful, and more useful still is insistance on the fact that one phase of economic progress is the substitution of pleasurable activity for painful effort.

(3) Clear recognition of the fact that production not only leads to consumption, but that consumption leads to production, is also a step forward.

(4) The accuracy of the picture Professor Patten draws of the part the consumer plays in curbing monopoly and perpetuating interest may be questioned, but it is certain that his analysis confirms his contention that too exclusive attention is given to the production side of these and related questions.

Finally, irrespective of the merits of particular theories, the general contention of the second part of the book that economics has to do not with economic men but with classes, each the inheritor of peculiar mental and moral traits, and that due regard must be given to these differences if contemporary phenomena are to be understood, cannot be too strongly insisted upon.

Like all of Professor Patten's books, *The Theory of Prosperity* will render its principal service by helping others to break away from traditional distinctions and accepted theories. It opens a wide field for thought and study and perhaps not its least merit is that it leaves the reader persuaded that while the field is undoubtedly there, much the larger part of it is still open.

HENRY R. SEAGER.

Washington, D. C.

EDITORIAL.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Academy, held January 25, 1902, Professor Lindsay tendered his resignation as president. He explained that acceptance of the position of Commissioner of Education of Porto Rico compelled his immediate departure for his new field of activity, and insisted that it would be detrimental to the best interests of the Academy to retain him in his responsible office when so far removed from the active work of the organization. With great reluctance the directors were forced to admit the wisdom of his decision and the resignation was accepted. Professor Rowe, the first vice-president of the Academy, was unanimously elected president, and Professor Lindsay was persuaded to accept the position of first vice-president.

In wishing Professor Lindsay the fullest measure of success and happiness in his new work, it is a pleasure to recall to members of the Academy his notable services to the society during the many years of his connection with it. He became interested in the organization while he was still a student at the University of Pennsylvania. How active that interest remained while he studied abroad in the years 1892, '93 and '94 is attested by the list of his contributions to the ANNALS[1] during that period. Returning to Philadelphia in the summer of 1894 to accept a position at his *Alma Mater*, he soon made himself the trusted leader of the group of young men who became connected with the Academy at about the same time. In January, 1895, he originated the important department of *Sociological Notes* in the ANNALS and continued to edit it until January, 1901, when the pressure of other duties compelled him to entrust the task to Doctors Devine and Hagerty.

When Professor James left Philadelphia in 1896, to go to Chicago, Professor Lindsay became the chief assistant of Professor Falkner in the administrative work of the Academy. He showed such marked capacity in this department that it was decided two years later to separate the administrative from the publishing activities of the society, and Professor Lindsay assumed direction of the former as first vice-president. From that time until the present he has been, to an ever-increasing extent, the active head of the organization. On Professor Falkner's entry into the public service in 1900, Professor Lindsay was chosen associate editor of the ANNALS, and on Professor James's retirement from the presidency a few months later, he succeeded to the

[1] Cf. *Personal Note*, vol. v, p. 418, November, 1894.

position which he had for two years filled so creditably in all but name. Since January, 1900, he has thus occupied a position similar to that held by the honored founder of the Academy during the first six years of its life. As Professor James is entitled to credit for the origination of the Academy idea and the successful direction of the organization during its formative years, so Professor Lindsay deserves the honor of having brought it to its fullest efficiency. The two years of his administration have been the most fruitful and prosperous that the Academy has yet enjoyed, and if it is now on a basis which makes even Professor Lindsay's retirement possible without a serious curtailment of its activities, it is largely to his talent for organization and untiring zeal that the result is due.

The progress made under Professor Lindsay's guidance has been in several different directions. The monthly meetings in Philadelphia have been raised to the dignity of notable events in the social, and even more in the intellectual, life of the city. Annual meetings have been instituted and the papers on questions of the day presented on these occasions have come to be recognized as contributions to the literature of the social sciences which no serious student can afford to neglect. These meetings have brought to Philadelphia each winter a distinguished list of speakers, and that the efforts of the Academy in this direction are appreciated is shown by the increase in the local membership of the society to 493. Not only the city membership, but the general membership and the number of subscribers have increased. Most noteworthy is the increase in the number of life members from twelve to fifty-three, which has been the direct result of Professor Lindsay's personal attention. The increased membership affords larger income for useful work. But what has been done could not be accomplished by the expenditure of members' fees alone. From the first it has been the Academy's policy to defray the expenses of the annual meetings from special contributions. Professor Lindsay has done valuable service not only in securing subscriptions to the annual meeting funds, but in interesting in the work of the Academy, leaders in business and in public life, whose attention might not otherwise have been called to the society.

Professor Lindsay's success in directing the affairs of the Academy is prophetic of the larger success that awaits him in Porto Rico. Since the Academy must lose him it is pleasant to think that his abilities are to be devoted to the interests of the new wards of the nation, and on that most important side, education. We feel sure that we voice the thoughts of all members of the Academy in wishing him good speed in his new work.

It is a happy coincidence that at the very time that Professor Lind-

say has decided to enter the service of Porto Rico, Professor Rowe has completed his work as Chairman of the Commission to Revise the Laws of that island, and has returned to resume his duties at the University of Pennsylvania. Before leaving Philadelphia to enter the public service in the summer of 1900, Professor Rowe was as active as the president himself in organizing the meetings of the Academy. He has also been from the beginning the editor of the earliest and perhaps most important special department of the ANNALS, the *Notes on Municipal Government.* Thus as regards both the principal activities of the Academy, Professor Rowe is admirably equipped for his new duties as president. His experience of public affairs and his tireless industry insure a successful administration, and the Academy is to be congratulated on being able to command his services for duties as onerous as they are honorable.

HENRY R. SEAGER.

COMMUNICATIONS.

WHAT IS A CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES?

"Constitutional history has a point of view, an insight, and a language of its own," writes Bishop Stubbs in the preface to his "Constitutional History of England;" "it reads the exploits and characters of men by a different light from that shed by the false glare of arms, and interprets positions and facts in words that are voiceless to those who have only listened to the trumpet of fame. The world's heroes are no heroes to it, and it has an equitable consideration to give to many whom the verdict of ignorant posterity and the condemning sentence of events have consigned to obscurity or reproach. Without some knowledge of constitutional history it is absolutely impossible to understand the origin of parties, the development of principles, the growth of nations in spite of parties and in defiance of principles. It alone can teach why it is that in politics good men do not always think alike, that the worst cause has often been illustrated with the most heroic virtue, and that the world owes some of its greatest debts to men from whom its very memory recoils."

As applied to the United States, the term constitutional history has the same meaning as applied to other countries. It is a history of the origin and growth of a civil system embodied in a constitution, whether written or unwritten. This civil system finds authoritative expression from time to time in laws, statutes and constitutions of government. In the United States these expressions are dual, being those of the states and of the United States, yet all founded on common principles. In the United States national and state laws and constitutions form a civil unit. The record of this unit is voluminous and, in the aggregate, probably more complete than any similar record of other peoples, times or countries. There are the constitutions and laws themselves, no small amount of evidence; there is the mass of authoritative exposition by the courts, and the greater mass of testimony bearing on the enactment of the laws and the making and adoption of the constitutions. Closely related to all this is the evidence reciting the origin and conduct of parties, the ideas and influence of statesmen, and the writings of theorists and philosophers. The entire testimony bears back to principles of government, few in number and comprehensive in character. A constitutional history is a narrative of the apprehension and application of these principles by the American people.

The limits which an American historian sets to his work are determined by the phase of activity which he attempts to describe. He cannot describe all the phases of national life. If his field is in constitutional history he discovers boundaries which, like a ruling canon, tend to preserve the unity of his work. What are these boundaries?

In America these boundaries are conventionally defined with tolerable accuracy, because the civil system of the country has been given a written form. The unwritten constitution is a term but dimly understood in America. Practically the unwritten constitution—using the word constitution as synonymous with "system of government"—in America, means little more than the manner of doing the public business, the mere administration of functions. The very vagueness of the idea suggests its limitations. With us the statute supplants or confirms the custom; the ruling in a department of government; the mere method of doing the public business as this is committed to the hands of a public servant may be supplanted by a later ruling or by the method of a successor in the office. The aggregate of rulings and official methods constitutes practically the approximate realization of an unwritten constitution in America. The approximation does not rank with the written constitution or the statute. To whatsoever extent the strife and turmoil of party politics enter into the vague aggregate—the unwritten constitution—there is undoubtedly an opportunity for the historian to paint in vivid colors the apparent conduct of men. The scene thus portrayed, however, forms no essential part of the narrative of constitutional matters, and the extent to which the historian will divert his readers from the main current of constitutional affairs will depend upon the sense of historical unity with which he writes, the degree of discrimination which marks his judgment as a colorist, and the space which he thinks must be given to his narrative of the main subject. If his work covers a long period of time, and must run into several volumes, he will hesitate to tempt fate by any undue account of subsidiary matters. It requires effort to read as well as to write a constitutional history. Subsidiary matters which shed light on the main theme must be admitted to the narrative. Whatsoever in the history of the unwritten constitution will make clearer the origin and development of civil notions has a just demand on the historian. The relativity, however, must be plain and indisputable.

The historian of a system of government must at the threshold of his work determine the critical question—to what extent must the history of politics and parties be narrated in order to make clear to the reader the nature and evolution of the principles which underlie the governmental system? Whatever decision the historian makes—

whether to include or to exclude political matters—he will awaken adverse criticism. There seem to be sound reasons for the exclusion of political history, except such a narrative of politics as will make the main theme plain to the reader. The exclusion of military history from a narrative of constitutional affairs has long since been approved by the common judgment, yet the causes and the consequences of war are frequently in close relation to the apprehension and application of the principles of government. Indeed, war is a kind of armed politics. In a strictly military history, no more of politics would be narrated than is necessary to show causes and effects. In a political history, military affairs must be similarly treated. In a constitutional history, both political and military affairs must be treated as tributaries to the main stream of events. The Revolution and the Civil War are pertinent illustrations. The military activity of the Revolution was only one phase of the reorganization of American civil affairs in the eighteenth century. Expostulation preceded the appeal to arms, and civil adjustments followed it. The Articles of Confederation and the Constitution embody results to which military activity contributed. The Constitution in its original form expresses the civil system which took shape after the cessation of hostilities. It is necessary, therefore, for the constitutional historian to narrate the course of the Revolution as it illustrates the principles for which the Americans were contending. Equally illustrative is the Civil War. It grew out of differences of opinion as to the true principles of representative government in America. Its immediate effect was a reroganization, or amendment of the civil system. The war was in fact an armed political agency of reorganization. To that extent its history must be narrated.

A person who devotes many years to historical research changes his concepts of the relativity of things several times. If he begins his researches early in life and carries them forward without interruption till he is past middle life, he simplifies his first conceptions by eliminating much that he at first thought essential. The ideal history which floats in his mind is a most remarkable work. It tells all that can be told of everything that can be told. It is constitutional, political, economic, military, social and literary to the last detail. It sweeps the field of human life. He plans it on a large scale, and wisely so. After many years' research, he discovers lines of cleavage in his theme, and he makes the discovery with joy. After making the circle of the period he is investigating, he discovers vast sections of it which he is generous enough to leave to be measured and described by others. He gradually gets acquainted with his own mind, which means with his own limitations, and wisely selecting the field which he will cultivate, he is happy to confine himself within its metes and bounds.

If he labors in the field of constitutional history, he at last discovers that the tributaries which enrich it are innumerable and that one life is too brief to permit him to trace each to its fountain head. The political tributaries soon become most familiar to him, and it is probable that he will ascend them frequently and at length. He soon discovers that in this world, as Goethe has said, there are few voices but many echoes. The principles of government are few; their interpretation varied, confusing and often contradictory. As his chief theme is the origin, apprehension and application of principles of government, he wisely utilizes only so much of the history of parties and politics as will explain this origin, this apprehension and this application. He is justified in observing a reasonable brevity in his narrative of strictly political matters. Writers equally equipped are narrating the political history of the country. Why should he merely paraphrase their researches? He must narrate as much of the political history of the country as is essential to a clear understanding, by the reader, of the subject which is his main theme—the system of government in force in America. Thus, at the last, the constitutional historian eliminates from his work all unessential matter in order to concentrate his readers' attention on the origin and development of civil principles. If it be said that the reader will be satisfied to find an elaborate political narrative in conjunction with an equally elaborate narrative of constitutional matters, it may be said, in reply, that before the reader comes the publisher. There are limits beyond which neither author nor publisher can safely pass. Again, there are limits which the reader quickly detects—namely, the evidences of authority with which an author speaks. Research in the field of constitutional history requires devotion and time. An author is practically precluded by the time limit from entering with equal thoroughness into both the constitutional and the political field. One or the other he will cultivate better, and the less valuable results of his labors will become the measure of all his labors. He, therefore, wisely leaves the political field to be exploited intensively by others, well satisfied if time and fortune suffer him to pursue his researches in his chosen field.

The constitutional historian is confronted by another critical question: To what extent shall he presume to declare the motives of men? If he stops a moment to weigh and interpret his own motives in life, he will stop many moments before he essays to describe the motives of other men. The search after "motives" is not unlike the search after the philosopher's stone. The older histories—notably the Roman—abound in disclosures of motives. The political historian is sorely tempted to venture his version of motives because he is dealing much with individuals of power and place. The constitutional his-

torian deals with groups of men—congresses, legislatures, conventions, masses of men by commonwealths—rather than with individuals. No system of government is the work of an individual. Every system is composite. Constitutional history is therefore a history of ideas and systems of thought, rather than of individual men. Again, the constitutional history of the United States differs from that of a monarchy: it is the history of a representative democracy—and in such a democracy it is ideas, not men, that constitute the principal forces in the state. As the constitution of Massachusetts expresses the matter—ours is "a government of laws and not of men." It is a truly great discovery which the historian has made when he is certain that the account of "motives" which he gives is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. But a vivid account of "motives" relieves the tedium of many a page of history, and gives a picturesqueness which accuracy itself seldom imparts.

While a constitutional history is more than the history of a document, it is mainly a history of the origin, formation, adoption and exposition of a document.

This does not mean that it is merely a history of words and phrases in that document, although the words and phrases are milestones in the progress of civil thought. It may safely be premised that no passage in an American constitution is without history. Every idea read into the civil system is the survival of prolonged discussion, and it is by following the discussion that we trace the development of the system. An American constitutional history must therefore be a narrative of discussions and expositions of civil notions, by responsible people. The responsibility, which rests ultimately with the people, finds a voice in legislatures, constitutional conventions, and courts of law. An interesting exposition by theorists, writers and commentators runs parallel with the official interpretation. The historian must take both agencies into account—the official and the unofficial—but he must not confuse them, nor must he suffer merely doctrinaire notions, such as are sometimes met with in academic circles, to color his narrative. The people, their ideas and their doings are the main theme. A constitutional history must follow authority and not be characterized and dominated by abstractions and ultra-refinements never met with in practical affairs. To whatsoever extent these refinements, abstractions and doctrinaire notions enter into the record of civil thought, they must be accounted for: it is enough to hold the mirror up to nature. The classic historians do not divert our attention by excursions into the domain of mere abstraction.

Another critical question which the constitutional historian must answer is: To what extent shall the opinions of the author be inserted?

The best answer is, to the extent that the author's narrative itself furnishes a series of comparisons which enable the reader to draw conclusions. The basis of criticism and comment is comparison. Historians usually do not leave their readers ignorant as to the wisdom or folly of men's actions, according to the opinion of the historians themselves. Comment and criticism may add levity to a narrative; they may be more interesting than the narrative itself. A person qualified to write a constitutional history is likely to have opinions which will interest if they do not instruct his fellow-men. But the historian must anticipate the reception which must be given to a work which is all sermon and no text. A person who is capable of reading a constitutional history intelligently is capable of drawing his own conclusions. Indulgence in critical comment may exclude more valuable matter, or so discolor the narrative as to make it impossible for the reader to draw his own conclusions. There is peril in criticism, in historical writing, because, after all, it is the strictly narrative historian who is longest read. Criticism reflects the thought of a period—an accurate narrative may be a possession for all time. It behooves the historian to attend to his narrative and make his comments subsidiary.

Finally, there are questions of style, scope and purpose, and the use of authorities, which are perhaps the most critical of all. It may be said, safely, that a book which a reader reads without thought of the author, has for him, at least, a pleasing style. The best style runs along lines of least resistance, and these lines themselves run according to the theme. Herodotus still charms the world with his simple narrative, and suggests the proper style for historical writing. The historian is tempted to suffer the records to speak for themselves and thus to reflect, in a manner, the times they record. On further reflection, he may decide to recast the record into his own speech, a decision less commonly executed than one might at first suppose. A constitutional history of the United States can have justly but one purpose — to narrate the life of the civil system under which, as a people, we are organized — and this purpose must measure the scope of the work. The historian is the creature of his authorities, whence it follows that he must make wide and accurate research. What number of volumes, what archives, state or national, what pamphlets, manuscripts, treatises, histories, brochures, newspapers, etc., etc., he will examine must depend upon his ideas of preparation. He must determine what use he will make of secondary authorities, one of the nicest decisions he is called upon to make. He must be prepared to meet gaps and chasms in the records, and later be severely criticised for not filling these same gaps and chasms. He must learn the measure of equivalents, so as to be able to write a continuous narrative.

He must remember that his reader, no matter how devoted to the subject, needs his frequent help, which may best be given by comparisons, and occasionally by judicious repetition in the nature of a summary. He must remember that his theme includes the whole nation, therefore it becomes him to leave no portion of the country unexplored. His purpose is to bring again to mind the course of affairs. His text consists of civil principles: his sermon is the apprehension and application of these principles by the American people.

While pursuing his researches among the sources, the historian will be blind indeed if he does not speedily discover the dominating trend of public affairs, and the true basis of human action: a trend and a basis which are essentially industrial. The laws of biology apply to history. Government is an organism, and, like an organism, it develops. Herein consists the true interpretation of history, that the historian is able and willing to record what he sees and observes. The great theme is the nation, and it is great because it is an organism. Dogma cannot forever conceal its qualities, attributes and functions. Theory cannot always miss its true nature. The social organism remains to the end the subject of the story. Arbitrary conventions among men may for a time retard the progress of society, but slowly, though at times with the terrible swiftness of revolution, the national organism comes to its own, and the thought of men is corrected by hard experiences.

Underneath legal concepts of the state, there will be found to exist an industrial spirit which demands recognition. Free industry means free politics, and sane industry means morality. The constitutional history of the United States is a chapter in the evolution of democracy. That chapter narrates many perils, many errors, many high hopes. It narrates a growth of the human spirit, an evolution of ideas and ideals. The laws which regulate the narrative are essentially biological, because the theme is humanity and the individual.

A history of the United States conceived and written along these lines is a constitutional history which will enable its readers "to understand the origin of parties, the development of principles, the growth of the nation in spite of parties and in defiance of principles," presenting "a regularly developed series of causes and consequences," and abounding "in examples of that continuity of life, the realization of which is necessary to give the reader a personal hold on the past and a right judgment of the present."

FRANCIS N. THORPE.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

The Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress has had an integral existence of less than five years. Previous to 1897 no distinct provision was made for the care of the manuscript collections in the Library, nor were there any sums of money regularly set apart for the purchase of acquisitions. The Librarian was dependent for the maintenance of the Library upon an annual appropriation of but $11,000, and was obliged to spend the greater part of that income for the purchase of books. Moreover, the space in the Capitol allotted to the Library of Congress was small and the material which it contained congested. Use of the Library led to disarrangement of its resources, and disarrangement decreased its usefulness. Conditions were unfavorable to security and owners of valuable manuscripts hesitated to place their collections in the care of the national government. In spite of these adverse conditions the Library of Congress in 1897 contained a sufficient number of manuscripts to warrant the establishment of a distinct department for their care. Some of these manuscripts had come by gift. Others had been purchased by special act of Congress.

Upon the removal of the Library to its present location in 1898, the first duty of the Manuscripts Division was to make its collections accessible. Much has been done. Nearly all of the manuscript material in the Library is arranged chronologically by chapters, and the greater portion of the manuscripts relating to United States history has been catalogued. The colonial and revolutionary material has been made accessible by the compilation of cross reference lists to the names of all persons mentioned, and in some cases, calendars giving summaries of the contents of each manuscript have been prepared.

There are at present about forty thousand manuscripts in the Library. The most numerous are those relating to our colonial and revolutionary history, although the scope of the collection is not limited to this field. Of the two thousand pages of letters, reports and legal opinions relating to the British Colonies in America previous to the Revolution, many deal with the West Indies and Canada. Other early manuscripts deal with the settlement of Spanish America, and yet others relate to the political and economic history of Great Britain.

The various state collections are particularly strong in colonial history. Among these papers are many manuscripts illustrating the social and industrial history of America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Material relating to New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Virginia is especially abundant. These state

series form valuable connecting links between the history of British America and that of the United States. Many manuscripts also, which for convenience in classification and reference have been placed with collections relating to particular states of the union, are in reality national documents. Such for example are the records of the London-Virginia Company, in two large volumes, only small portions of which have been printed, together with other papers relating to the early life of Virginia; the minutes of the Baltimore Committee of Safety during 1774–76, and many manuscripts throwing light upon the period of early colonial warfare.

Bearing more distinctly on the story of our national life, the Library contains over six hundred manuscripts relating to the American Revolution. This collection is in addition to papers dealing more intimately with the participation of individual states in the war, and centering about some prominent personality. The last named groups are frequently of great assistance to the student. No historian of the Revolution who omits to consult the papers of Robert Morris or of Oliver Pollock can thoroughly appreciate the financial difficulties of that period. The problems of furnishing subsistence for the Continental Army are made clear by a study of the papers of Ephraim Blaine and John Davis. Light is thrown upon particular campaigns by the Orderly Books of Schuyler and Montgomery, the Letter Books of Nathanael Greene, and the papers of Benedict Arnold and John Sullivan, which the Library possesses. For the aid furnished by our French allies, the student can be referred to the papers of De Rochambeau and De Segur, each of whom occupied a position of importance in forwarding the work of the French alliance. Above all, the Collection of Washington papers is suggestive in connection with our early national life. This collection consists of over eleven hundred manuscripts written or received by Washington, the greater portion of them during the revolutionary period. A calendar of this collection has been recently published by the Library.

The Library has many manuscripts relating to the naval history of the United States. Among them is a collection of over eight hundred papers of John Paul Jones, a Letter Book of the Marine Committee of the Continental Congress, as well as letters of John Barry, David Porter and other naval heroes of our later national life. A calendar of the Paul Jones collection is in preparation.

Of somewhat different character is the collection of loyalist papers in the possession of the Library. At the close of the American Revolution the British Government sent a commission to America to determine the losses suffered by adherents to the cause of the mother country. This commission sat in Canada and the United States,

and the testimony given before it is contained in thirty-five bound volumes now in this division. Needless to say these volumes are valuable not alone for the light which they throw upon revolutionary history, but for the assistance which they furnish to genealogists in the United States or in Canada, whither most of the loyalists retired upon the termination of the war. The testimony of the individual sufferers frequently contains suggestive statements regarding the dangers to which property interests were subject during the stormy period of the Revolution. For the student of economic history the division has many other manuscripts of peculiar interest. The diaries and letter books of Robert Morris, in fifteen folio volumes, have been referred to. Collectively they constitute the best financial history of the United States, from 1781 to 1784, in existence, although Professor Sumner had not the use of this collection when writing his history of American revolutionary finance. Many other papers throw light upon the methods by which the Continental Congress endeavored to provide for the expenses of the government during the first decade of our national existence. The account books of the Carroll family, in Maryland, and of Martin Cockburn, in Virginia, are as suggestive to the economist as to the biographer. Two other groups of papers deserve particular mention. The first is a collection of fifty-four volumes of English bills and accounts, which serve to illustrate the history of prices in Great Britain from 1632 to 1792. This collection of over seven hundred papers was presented to the Smithsonian Institution in 1852, and came thence to the Library of Congress. A three-volume manuscript record of Scottish commerce, from 1818 to 1820, is a second example of the material relating to British economic history here available.

In addition to these foreign manuscripts there has been received by the Library during the past year a large collection of papers from Richmond, Va., relating to the economic history of the cotton and tobacco industries. This collection consists of the mercantile records of the firms of Ellis & Allen, Charles Ellis & Sons, Thomas & Charles Ellis and Thomas & Charles Ellis & Company, of Richmond, from 1805 to 1853. The house, under its successive names, was concerned in foreign trade, and was probably the most important firm of its class in Virginia. Dealing with Southern products, more particularly with tobacco and cotton, the journals, ledgers, day-books and letters of this firm contain significant materials for a history of Southern economic development.

The Manuscripts Division is open to students from 9 a. m. to 4 p. m. daily. During these hours personal work upon the material there collected can be done. Until 10 p. m. the resources of the main

reading-room and of the Periodical Division are available. Arrangements also may be made for having any desired manuscripts copied.

To sum up, the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress contains an abundance of suggestive material ready for consultation. The service which that material shall perform will be decided by the students who use its collections.

C. H. LINCOLN.

Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION.

The Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association was held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at Washington, December 27-30, 1901. There was an unusually large attendance of representative economists from every part of the country, and full justice was done to the enjoyable social relaxations arranged by the local committee. Besides a luncheon given by the Washington Economic Society and a reception tendered to members of both Associations by Senator and Mrs. Henderson, there were several informal smokers at the Cosmos Club, whose house was hospitably thrown open to members.

At the first joint evening session on December 27, an address of welcome was delivered by Rev. Samuel H. Greene, president *pro tempore* of the Columbian University. President Richard T. Ely, of the Economic Association, then delivered his annual address on "Industrial Liberty." He was followed by the president of the Historical Association, Charles Francis Adams, Esq., whose address was entitled "An Undeveloped Function."

The papers presented at the second session, on the morning of December 28, dealt with different phases of "International Trade." Brooks Adams, Esq., analyzed "The Meaning of the Recent Expansion of the Foreign Trade of the United States." His conclusions were discussed by Mr. George E. Roberts, Director of the Mint, Mr. Charles A. Conant, Washington correspondent of the New York *Journal of Commerce* and others. Mr. Worthington C. Ford, Chief of the Division of Statistics of the Boston Public Library, then read a paper on "The Commercial Policy of Europe," which was discussed by Professor Henry C. Emery, of Yale University.

The third session, on the afternoon of December 28, was devoted to "Economic Theory." Professor Thomas N. Carver, of Harvard University, considered "Some Theoretical Possibilities of a Protective Tariff." His views were assailed by Professor Guy S. Collender, of Bowdoin College, Mr. Maurice H. Robinson, of Yale University, and

others. The next paper, on "The Position of the Workman in the Light of Economic Progress," was presented by Professor Charles A. Tuttle, of Wabash College; Professor David Kinley, of the University of Illinois, and Professor Samuel M. Lindsay, of the University of Pennsylvania, participated in the discussion.

The general topic for the fourth session on the evening of December 28 was "Labor Problems." Alfred H. Stone, Esq., of Greenville, Mississippi, read a paper on "The Negro of the Yazoo, Mississippi, Delta." Some of the points raised were discussed by Mr. L. G. Powers, Chief Statistician for Agriculture of the United States Census. The other paper of the session was by Commissioner Herman Justi, of the Illinois Coal Operators' Association, and discussed "Conciliation and Arbitration Among Miners." Mr. Justi's conclusions were reviewed by Dr. Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor.

At the fifth session, on the afternoon of December 30, papers on "Public Finance" were presented. Mr. Thomas S. Adams, of the University of Wisconsin, described "Porto Rican Finance: A Comparative Study of Spanish and American Systems of Colonial Finance." Professor J. H. Hollander, of Johns Hopkins University, the late Treasurer of Porto Rico, spoke on the same theme. Mr. Moses H. Baker, editor of *Engineering News*, then presented the "Report of the Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounts and Statistics." Mr. Charles E. Curtis, Vice-President of the City Bank of New Haven, Professor R. P. Falkner, Chief of the Division of Documents of the Library of Congress, and others, discussed the committee's recommendations.

On Monday evening, December 30, the meeting, which had been characterized throughout by animated discussions, was brought to an appropriate close by a joint session with the Historical Association, of which "Historical Materialism and the Economic Interpretation of History" was the final topic. The first paper of this session was presented by Professor A. Lawrence Lowell, of Harvard University, and was on "Party Legislation in Parliament, Congress and State Legislatures." The conclusions of the paper were re-enforced by Professor Harry Pratt Judson, of the University of Chicago. The paper on the "Economic Interpretation of History" was presented by Professor E. R. A. Seligman, of Columbia University, and discussed by Professor Isaac A. Loos, of the University of Iowa, and Professor E. P. Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania.

Before adjourning, the Association elected the following officers for 1902: President, Professor E. R. A. Seligman, of Columbia University; vice-presidents, Theodore Marburg, Esq., of Baltimore, Pro-

fessor Fred. M. Taylor, University of Michigan, and Professor John C. Schwab, Yale University; secretary and treasurer, Professor Frank A. Fetter, of Cornell University; new members of Publication Committee, Professor J. H. Hollander, Johns Hopkins University, chairman, and Professor Thomas N. Carver, Harvard University.

The place most seriously considered for the next annual meeting was Philadelphia, but no definite action was taken.

H. R. S.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ACADEMY.

The seventy-sixth scientific session of the Academy was held at the New Century Drawing Room, Philadelphia, on the evening of December 13, 1901. The subject of the evening's discussion was Reciprocity. After calling the meeting to order Professor Lindsay, the president of the Academy, introduced the Hon. John A. Kasson, Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States for the negotiation of reciprocity treaties, who took the chair.

The first address of the evening was made by Mr. A. B. Farquhar, of York, Pennsylvania, who presented a paper on "The Manufacturer's Need for Reciprocity." The paper is printed in full in this issue of the ANNALS.

Colonel Albert Clarke, Chairman of the United States Industrial Commission, delivered the second address of the evening, and, speaking from the standpoint of a protectionist, replied to some of the arguments advanced by Mr. Farquhar, and emphasized the necessity of exercising special care in the making of reciprocity arrangements in order that no injury should result to the welfare of American industries or American labor. Colonel Clarke called attention to the fact that the reciprocity treaty with France, negotiated by the Hon. John A. Kasson, had failed of ratification in the Senate, partly because many Senators felt that reciprocity treaties were of the nature of revenue bills, and had the effect of transferring to the Senate powers which the Constitution intended should be exercised only by Congress. Colonel Clarke stated: "Those who contend for reciprocity with some or all of the European nations bring forward two arguments, to wit: (1) That we must buy more from them if we would sell more to them; (2) that if we do not, they will combine in a tariff war against us." The speaker called attention to the fact that the value of Europe's sales to the United States was only $18,000,000 less than they were ten years ago. The quantity of goods sold us is larger than it was in 1890. The point was also made that "during the last fiscal year our imports of manufactures from all Europe aggregated $267,594,471, and our exports of manufactures to Europe were $236,532,316. Thus it is seen that notwithstanding our tariff and our invasion of their markets, they still sell us thirty-one millions more of manufactures than they buy of us, and the present indications are that the balance in their favor will be larger this year."

Colonel Clarke thought that it would be possible to make reciprocity provisions on some articles with some sections of the world. He

said: "Apparently a much easier problem lies to the south of us. Last year the sixty millions of people in South America imported $308,000,000 worth of goods, while we sold them only $30,000,000, or 10 per cent, although we bought from them $78,000,000, and thus incurred an adverse balance of trade of $47,000,000." The speaker thought that with the establishment of direct lines of steamers, better banking facilities and other trade auxiliaries would follow, and that the establishment of reciprocity relations would be of advantage.

In closing his address Colonel Clarke referred to the fact that "the late President McKinley never failed to couple with his advice for expansive trade the caution that it should not be at the cost of American labor," and quoted with approval the following statement of Mr. George Gunton, of New York: "If we could increase our foreign trade 40 per cent by reducing all wages five cents a day, the loss to the nation would be nearly $20,000,000 a year greater than the gain."

The next speaker was Mr. Frank Leake, a member of the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia, and chairman of the delegation which represented that organization at the National Convention on Reciprocity, held in Washington, D. C., November 25, 1901. Mr. Leake reviewed the work of the Washington convention, and argued that the work of that body was of greater importance than the press of the country seemed to think. The convention itself was evidence that the Republican party was really in favor of reciprocity. The convention was made up of conservative business men, and the resolutions reached by them were correspondingly conservative.

The discussion was brought to a close by Mr. Kasson, who stated that the advocacy of a policy of reciprocity in no wise meant the abandonment of the system of protection. He said that there was no doubt about Mr. McKinley's having been a protectionist, and that the provisions under which the reciprocity treaties, now being considered, had been negotiated are contained in the Dingley tariff act, which provided for a very high protection to American industries. The proposed reciprocity treaties were simply a movement connected with the execution of the highest tariff ever adopted in the United States. The purpose of the French treaty was simply to get into France on the same terms as other countries do. Mr. Kasson spoke strongly in favor of the establishment of a new Department of Commerce, one of the purposes of which should be the promotion of the foreign trade of our country. He claimed that we could not prosper without having a large market in Europe for our manufactures. We need to take especial care to secure a vent for our surplus products, and we should not let our selfishness gain control of our judgment.

SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ACADEMY.—PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT.—FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, APRIL 4 AND 5.

General Topic: Social Legislation and Social Activity.

TENTATIVE PROGRAM.

First session, Friday afternoon, 3 p. m., April 4. Topic: "The Protection of Children." Edgar Gardner Murphy, of Montgomery, Ala.: "Child Labor, with Special Reference to Industrial Conditions in the South."

Second session, Friday evening, 8 p. m., April 4. The Annual Address. Subject: "The Equality of Opportunity in the Use of Transportation Facilities." Hon. Martin A. Knapp, Chairman of Interstate Commerce Commission.

Third session, Saturday afternoon, April 5, 3 p. m. Topic: "The Protection of Workingmen." Hon. Robert W. De Forest, Tenement House Commissioner of Greater New York. Topic: "The Housing Problem."

Fourth session, Saturday evening, April 5, 8 p. m. Topic: "Industrial Arbitration: Its Possibilities and Limitations." Address: Hon. Marcus A. Hanna, United States Senator from Ohio; discussion: Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor.

The topic of the meeting of the Academy has been selected with a view to furnishing a forum of discussion for the consideration of the more important social movements of the present day. The effort for the improvement of social conditions has furnished the reason for the organization of a large number of societies, each working in its particular field, but all tending towards a common end. During recent years a number of special conferences and conventions have been held, but no effort has been made to bring together the leading thinkers and workers in the more important fields of social activity. The betterment of social conditions through the efforts of private associations has been seconded by legislation intended to afford greater protection to those elements of the population which must always be placed under the fostering care of the community. The advance which has been made in recent years in the care of defective classes is now being supplemented through legislation extending more adequate protection to children. The remarkable progress in the use of mechanical appliances has, in some cases, tended to increase the temptation to employ children of tender age. This movement has assumed large proportions in some of the southern states and has given rise to considerable agitation for more stringent legislation. Dr. Edgar Gardner Murphy, of Montgomery, Ala., has taken a leading part in this movement and will present the opening address on the subject of Child Labor at the

opening session, to be held Friday afternoon, April 4. The Committee on Meetings hopes to secure a number of southern and northern manufacturers and experts to take part in the discussion.

On Friday evening, April 4, Judge Knapp, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, will deliver the annual address on "*The Equality of Opportunity in the Use of Transportation Facilities.*" To many investigators the transportation problem is fundamental in determining the development of industrial relations. Judge Knapp's large experience in dealing with these questions, together with his thorough and philosophic grasp of their relation to social welfare, assures an address worthy of the Annual Meeting.

The movement for the protection of the working classes is now being directed into two channels; first, to secure to the workingman a broader outlook upon the better things of life through the improvement of his physical surroundings; and secondly, to find some means by which the differences between employer and employed may be amicably settled. The session of Saturday afternoon, April 5, will be devoted to a discussion of the tenement house problem. The opening address will be made by Hon. Robert W. De Forest, recently appointed Tenement Commissioner of Greater New York by Mayor Low. Mr. De Forest was chairman of the Tenement House Commission, which made an exhaustive inquiry into the question, and has spared neither time nor energy to make himself master of the problem in its various phases. Those who are to take part in the discussion will be announced in the final program.

The session of Saturday evening, April 5, will afford to the members of the Academy an opportunity to hear the best thought on a subject which is now absorbing public attention. The recent formation of an Industrial Arbitration Commission by the National Civic Federation, together with the events which led to the settlement of the coal and iron strikes, gives to the question of industrial arbitration a position of immediate practical importance. In securing Senator Hanna, of Ohio, for the opening address, and President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, to open the discussion, we are assured of a valuable contribution to the subject.

PERSONAL NOTES.

Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay, concerning whom an editorial note appears in this number of the ANNALS,[1] has been appointed by President Roosevelt to the office of Commissioner of Education of Porto Rico. As head of the eduational system of the island, Professor Lindsay becomes, *ex-officio*, a member of the Executive Council—the upper house of the Legislative Assembly. Professor Lindsay has been president of the American Academy of Political and Social Science since February 6, 1901, and has conducted the department of Sociological Notes of the ANNALS from its inception until January 1, 1901, when this department was taken charge of by Professor James E. Hagerty. A list of Dr. Lindsay's publications up to 1896 is published in the ANNALS for July, 1896.[2] Since that time Professor Lindsay has published the following:

"*Problem of Charity in Philadelphia.*" The Citizen, September, 1896.

"*Historical Sketch of Latin Union.*" Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy, Vol. II, 1897.

"*International Monetary Conferences.*" Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy, Vol. II, 1897.

"*Gold Bullion as a Commodity at the Mints.*" Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy, Vol. II, 1897.

"*Bruno Hildebrand.*" *Biographical Sketch.* Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy, Vol. II, 1897.

"*Note on the Monetary Situation.*" Political Economy and Public Law Series No. 13. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania.

"*Substitutes for Primaries.*" New York Evening Post, January 21, 1898.

"*Sviluppo e importanza delle imprese municipali di speculazione.*" Revista di Sociologia, January, February, 1898.

"*Vacant Lot Cultivation.*" Charities Review, April, 1898.

"*The Study and Teaching of Sociology.*" Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, July, 1898.

"*Statistics of Pauperism and Benevolence.*" Publications of American Economic Association, March, 1899.

"*The Unit of Investigation or Consideration in Sociology.*" Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1898.

[1] See page 92.

[2] Vol. viii, p. 152.

"*A Unit in Sociology.*" Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January, 1899.

"*The Liberal Culture Element in Commercial Education.*" Proceedings of the International Commercial Congress, Philadelphia, 1899.

"*The Philadelphia Negro.*" Introduction to volume prepared by Dr. William E. B. Du Bois and Miss Isabel Eaton. Political Economy and Public Law Series No. 14. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, 1899.

"*Notes on Bibliography of the Negro Question.*" Proceedings of the First Annual Conference at Montgomery, Ala., 1900.

"*Railway Labor in the United States.*" Report of the United States Industrial Commission, vol. xvii, 1901.

"*Railway Employees in the United States.*" United States Labor Bulletin, November, 1901.

"*The Work of the United States Industrial Commission.*" Review of Reviews, December, 1901.

Paris, France.—Monsieur Maurice Bellom, Engineer of the Corps of Mines, was awarded, at a meeting of the Academy of Moral and Political Science, held on October 12, 1901, upon the recommendation of Monsieur Levasseur, the Grand Gold Medal which constitutes the Audeoud Prize, for his work entitled "Workingmen's Insurance Against Sickness and Accident." The Audeoud Prize is awarded every four years to the authors of books or practical works or to institutions which have rendered the greatest service in the amelioration of the condition of the working-classes or of the poverty of the country.

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES.

THERE IS AT PRESENT a movement on foot to popularize the study of law. Among efforts of this kind the work of Dr. George James Bayles, of Columbia University, should be mentioned. There has been an appreciable demand for education on legal subjects on the part of American women. "Woman and the Law"[1] is designated for this constituency. The work is well written, and covers the broad fields of Domestic Relations, Property Relations and Public Relations. Much of historical information is also included within the treatise: legal principles are in some instances given a historical bearing. The work is attractive in form and style as well as sound in principle.

PROFESSOR BLACKMAR, of the University of Kansas, has contributed much to the history of his state in the "Life of Charles Robinson, the first Freestate Governor." The spice of personality is given to events associated with many of the most important struggles of the new Western Commonwealth whose zeal for national issues has carried her into the thick of every national fight.[2]

MR. JAMES BURNLEY'S "Millionaires and Kings of Enterprise"[3] is a step in the right direction. The unfortunate part is that it is not better done. The lives of men who, in private life, have done so much to shape the careers of men and the destinies of nations have, in the past, had too little attention given them by historians and biographers. The old cultural idea was one that required a theme of the imagination or one of fiction to entitle it to commendation. In former discourses on human activity, heroism and greatness was found only on the battlefield or political councils. The great warrior, the great debater, the great parliamentarian drew forth scholarly effort; those men who gave direction to the life and vitality of the nation, those who devoted themselves to every-day problems, who helped to shape the great social and economic structures of the world have been looked upon with scant deference as scarcely worthy of mention. The chief fault in Mr. Burnley's effort is almost a necessary result of his plan of work. He

[1] Pp. 274. Price, $1.40. The Century Company, 1901.
[2] Pp. 438. Crane & Co., Topeka, Kan., 1902.
[3] Pp. 512. Price, $6.00.* J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1901.

has in one volume attempted to give the life setting of nearly one hundred men, the larger aspects of the affairs of any one of whom, if properly wrought out, would require the book space given to all. If scholarly results were to be given within this brief space, at least the materials for the larger work must first be gathered, digested, and brought into proper relation with the great movements in which these leaders have played so large a part.

IN VIEW of the great attention now paid to housing reform in many American cities the report of the "Congrès International des Habitations à Bon Marché," held at Paris June 18–21, 1900, will be of interest. It is a volume of some 450 pages, containing the discussions of the congress, with some good monographs on the several phases of the subject. The conditions in various countries are discussed. Among the articles is one by W. F. Willoughby, of the U. S. Department of Labor.[1]

THE DELBRIDGE COMPREHENSIVE INTEREST TABLES[2] is one of a series of mathematical books undertaken by The Delbridge Company of St. Louis, by which they hope to cover the full range of business calculations that admit of reduction to tabular results. Interest calculations are given for the range of from $1 to $1,000,000, and from one day to one year, at rates from 1 per cent to 10 per cent, with fractions. The service of such books in giving increased facility to trade is incalculable. This company has undertaken through the employment of expert skill to give to applied art the best results of scientific training.

THE SECOND EDITION of "De la Division du Travail Social," by Émile Durkheim, professor of sociology at the University of Bordeaux, is practically a reprint of the first edition (1893), save for the addition of a preface of 36 pages, in which the author expresses a desire to see the various trades organizations assume more of a regulative function corresponding to the ancient guilds; he asks whether parliamentary representations may not be chosen by trades rather than provinces.[3]

EACH YEAR SEES important additions to the monograph history of North America. Is it too much to hope that a second John Fiske will some day digest and relate what is being put forth in crude form,

[1] Paris, 1900. Secretariat de la Société Française des Habitations à Bon Marché.
[2] Pp. 140. Price, $6.
[3] Price, 7 *fr.* 50. Paris. Librairie Félix Alcan. 1902.

and furnish an authoritative history of the United States which shall be at once philosophical and literary? One of the latest of our monograph writings deals with redemption and indentured labor in Pennsylvania. It is by Dr. Karl F. Geiser, and appears as a supplement to the *Yale Review*.[1] White servitude was practiced more largely in Pennsylvania than in any other colony or state of North America, and it was here that this peculiar form of labor had the largest influence. As Dr. Geiser's work is the first authoritative account of the subject for Pennsylvania, it cannot fail to command attention from those denominated scholars, and from a wider reading public.

The book is made up of eleven chapters, with subjects as follows: Introduction, Causes of Immigration, The Number and Significance of Redemptioners and Indentured Servants, Historical Sketch of Immigration, The Voyage, Laws and Methods of Regulating Transportation, The Indenture, The Runaways, Punitive and Marriage Regulations, the Servant in the Army, and the Social Status of the Servant.

Much should be said in commendatiou of the industry with which Dr. Geiser has conducted his investigation, and the straightforward manner in which its results are presented.

"THE CURSE OF EDUCATION"[2] is a vigorous protest against the common method of cramming the mind with facts, and particularly against the "manufacture of uniformity and mediocrity by subjecting every individual to a common process." The book contains no new principles, nor does it set forth any new system of education. It is, however, calculated to arouse and stimulate discussion because of the vivid, epigrammatic style, and the extreme application of principles which, in this country at least, form the basis of the kindergarten, early primary work and the elective system, which has resulted in the strengthening of social and natural sciences in our colleges and universities.

The author's point of view can be best stated by repeating the chapter headings, which indicate both contents and manner of presentation: Flourishing Mediocrity, Square Pegs in Round Holes, The Destruction of Genius, Human Factories, The Greatest Misery of the Greatest Number, The Output of Prigs, Boy Degeneration, Woman's Empire Over Man, Youth and Crime, Mental Breakdown.

[1] GEISER, KARL FREDERICK, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*. Supplement to Yale Review, vol. x, No. 2. Paper, 8vo, pp. 128. Tuttle, Moorehouse & Taylor Company, New Haven, Connecticut.

[2] By HAROLD E. GORST. Pp. 144. Price, $1 net. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1901.

IN "ESSAIS SUR LE MOUVEMENT OUVRIER EN FRANCE"[1] Daniel Halévy gives an interesting account of movements among the French laborers. Trades unions, coöperation, People's Institutes and the political developments are discussed. The outcome, the author thinks, will be socialism.

MR. NORMAN HAPGOOD'S success in the field of popular biography is made evident by the large circulation given to his "George Washington."[2] He has not only given to the subject of his sketch the character and strength which it deserves, but by his artistic appreciation has added greater vividness to our impression of the first of America's national heroes.

"DEMOCRACY VERSUS SOCIALISM,"[3] byMax Hirsch, of Melbourne, attempts an exhaustive critical study of socialism. Its various theories and proposals are treated in detail. Mr. Hirsch fails to find any which are well founded. To accept socialism would be disastrous. "Stagnation, rapidly to be followed by retrogression, would be the lot of the nations." The destruction of family and social ideals would ensue. The socialists are correct only in their claims that present conditions are wrong. The cause of existing evils Mr. Hirsch sees in "the legislative creation of private monopolies, especially of the monopoly of the land." The remedy is the "Single Tax." Many chapters are very interesting.

DR. JAMES K. HOSMER has modestly entitled his recently published work, "A Short History of The Mississippi Valley."[4] While he covers a range from prehistoric time to the present, and a field as broad as all Europe outside of Russia,—one too in which the work of the historian is scarcely begun—he has given to us one of the most complete and reliable stories yet written. Some original data are added, but the strength of his work lies in the correlation of materials and results obtained by others. This side of history writing is highly important; it helps to give a perspective to the research student, and reduces results to such form that they may be absorbed and become a part of the general culture of the time.

"THE WHY OF POVERTY,"[5] by G. H. Hubbard, is an ill-balanced attempt to show the futility of trying to banish poverty by such pan-

[1] Pp. 300. Price, 3*fr.* 50. Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition. Paris, 1901.
[2] Pp. 418. Price, $1.75. Macmillan, 1901.
[3] Pp. 481. Price, $2.50. Macmillan, 1901.
[4] Pp. 230. Price, $1.20. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1901.
[5] Pp. 181. Price, $1.00. The Abbey Press. New York, 1901.

aceas as the single tax. Impoverished persons are in that condition because of specific personal habits. Social conditions influence people, but the great bulk of pauperism is caused by the liquor traffic, tobacco, expensive amusements, strikes, etc. These are all embraced in Waste and Speculation. "If the poor people of America would declare war against these poverty and suffering would disappear as if by magic." Mr. Hubbard does not seem to appreciate the import of the "if." A careful analysis of one hundred cases of poverty would probably cause a revision of the book.

A MONOGRAPH, BY ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT, on "*The Old National Road*—A Chapter on American Expansion"[1]—has added something to the literature of one of the most interesting periods of American development.

The importance of improved transportation in the reclaiming of the Continent, in giving direction to the movement of population and in developing every side of material progress in the United States, has been overlooked by modern historians. Mr. Hulbert's book points out the influence of this factor in the earlier period of our history.

"WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA,"[2] is one of the most interesting and practically useful books of reference that one can have on the study table. It not only supplies needed information for the busy editor and writer, but to the person who wants to keep in touch with public lecturers and speakers, essayists and magazine contributors, it is about the only source of up-to-date biographical information. Besides this aspect of the book, which has been greatly improved in its new edition, the preface and note on educational statistics based upon the names appearing in the volume contain some very interesting sociological data. Brief biographies of 11,551 people appear in the book; 9,760 of these have furnished educational data more or less complete concerning their general or special education. These are mostly well-known and successful people, although all of them are not successful in the same way. Leaving out of consideration all post-graduate work, because the post-graduate degree is in many cases an honorary one, and statistics on that point might be misleading, the following interesting facts are brought out from this volume: 4,521, or nearly half of those giving educational data, are graduates of colleges or universities conferring baccalaureate degrees; 965 more attended such institutions but did not graduate; 889 closed their scholastic career in academies, semi-

[1] Pp. 151. Price, $1.50. A. H. Smythe, Columbus, 1901.

[2] Who's Who in America. A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women of the United States. Edited by John W. Leonard. Pp. xvi, 1352. Price $2.75. Chicago, A. N. Marquis & Co., 1901.

naries and other institutions of a secondary grade; 117 finished in normal schools; 239 have a high school education only; 808 had merely a common or public school education; 282 were privately educated, 31 self-taught; 366 educated in foreign institutions; 717 graduated in music; 327 graduated from technical schools as engineers, architects, chemists, agriculturists, etc.; 494 graduated from theological seminaries; 521 from law schools; 121 from the United States Naval Academy; 168 from the United States Military Academy; and 50 were either naval or military officers, but not graduated as such. The biographical distribution of the 11,551 names appearing in "Who's Who" is also interesting: 65 foreign countries, 45 states, 6 territories, the District of Columbia being represented; Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands being classed as foreign and Hawaii as domestic; 9,800 are classed as native-born, 1,281 foreign-born, and the remainder either born at sea or not reporting birthplace. In the birth column the largest figures in order are those for New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Maine, Virginia, Indiana, Vermont, New Jersey, Kentucky, New Hampshire and Maryland. The order of states arranged according to the present residences of persons whose names appear in "Who's Who' is New York, Massachusetts, District of Columbia, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, California, Connecticut, Missouri and Maryland.

"THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA"[1] is the title given to the thesis of Dr. Charles H. Lincoln, recently published by the University of Pennsylvania. The period covered is from 1760 to 1776, though threads of the movement are carried down to the final settlement under the Constitution of the United States. It is a work of 300 octavo pages. No better résumé can be given of its contents than by recitation of subjects around which the material is massed. The work opens with "The Formation of the Revolutionary Movement" and a treatise on "The Influence of German and Irish Immigration," with a view of "The Pennsylvania Assembly Under the Colonial Government." This is followed by "The Growth of Revolution in the West," and "The Creation of a Revolutionary Party in Philadelphia." The author now turns to "The Opening of the Conflict," with its various elements of controversy, "International Questions," "Arguments of Remonstrance" and "Constitutional Rights." Digression is here made to "The Alignment of Parties" to its conflict and "The Establishment of the Revolutionary Organization." The work is concluded with chapters on "The Advance of the Revolutionary Movement," "The Fall of the Quaker Government," and

[1] Ginn & Co., Selling Agents

"The New Government." Dr. Lincoln has found a mine of materials; he has worked over and made available for scientific thinking data before untouched—has reduced to certainty many conclusions that before were only conjectural or partly established.

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS[1] published during the past year an edition of the Cambridge borough charters, with Professor F. W. Maitland and Miss Mary Bateson as the editors. This is the first publication of these charters in a complete form; the abstracts contained in Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, though in the main correct, do not take the place of the documents themselves. The arrangement of the work is particularly convenient, both for those who read Latin and for those who do not. On one page are printed the charters in the original, and on the opposite page are careful translations of the same documents. Aside from the value of the work as a collection of hitherto unpublished material, the most noticeable feature is the Introduction by Professor Maitland. Taking up the charters in their chronological order, in the few paragraphs devoted to each of them, he notes their essential features, clears up the difficulties and explains, in the light of his wider knowledge, the privileges granted to the borough.[2]

THE "PRIMER" is now coming to be a common form for the publication of the results of scientific and historic research. This form of book recommends itself to the popular reader on account of its clearness and simplicity of statement. When combined with scholarly work its importance as an educational factor cannot be easily overestimated. Mr. J. R. V. Marchant's "Commercial History—An Introductory Treatise for the use of advanced classes in schools,"[3] is a splendid illustration of the method. Mr. Marchant was formerly an Oxford scholar, and at present is Examiner in Commercial History to the London Chamber of Commerce. At this period of popular awakening to the importance of higher commercial education his contribution will doubtless find a large audience awaiting it.

TO GIVE AN HARMONIOUS general survey of the economic state of Europe and the United States at the end of the nineteenth century is no trivial undertaking. R. E. May has attempted this in a recent

[1] The Charters of the Borough of Cambridge. Edited by F. W. Maitland and Mary Bateson. Pp. 209. Cambridge: University Press, 1901.

[2] Contributed by J. G. Willard, Philadelphia.

[3] Pp. 112. Price, 1s. 6d. Sir Isaac Pitman's Sons, Ltd.: London, 1901.

large volume on the economic life of the past, present and future.[1] The author has not contented himself with the comparatively ambitious plan of a general sketch of the present, but wherever the tendency of economic development seems clearly indicated by the facts of evolution in the past, he points out the probable future course of economic events. He has particularly undertaken to throw some light, with the aid of statistics, upon such mooted problems as the increase of consumption per head of population, the exact relation between national production and foreign trade, the effect of increased productivity on wages, the relation between profit and wages, the amount of capital invested in corporate enterprise, "over-production," etc. It is somewhat unfortunate that the author has so frequently introduced his own theoretical preferences and reform ideas in the explanation of facts, and thus made it difficult at times to distinguish between fact and theory; it is often doubtful whether facts have not been arranged in such a manner as to support preconceived assumptions.

The author begins with an account of the increase of incomes during the past century and an examination of the extent to which this has led to increased consumption. He thereupon compares the increase of the total income of Germany and England with the rise of wages in these countries. The next section defines "productive labor," and, contrasting national production with national income, reaches the conclusion that there is no such thing as "over-production." What is commonly understood by this term is due to the defectiveness of our present "anarchic" economic system. In the succeeding chapter, Mr. May maintains that the "balance of trade" is no criterion of a nation's prosperity; it is more important, he declares, to increase the productivity of labor than to encourage exportation.

Other sections contain discussions of the comparative productivity of labor in different countries, the rise of new wants, the increase of large industrial establishments (Grossbetriebe), and the development of commerce and transportation—the striking characteristic of the century just closed. The mass of statistical material contained in numerous comparative tables, which include the United States and all the principal European nations, will doubtless make the book useful to the economist for purposes of reference, while the explanations offered in the text are sometimes suggestive. [2]

[1] *Die Wirtschaft in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*, mit 130 Tabellen und vergleichenden Übersichten. By R. E. MAY. Pp. xvi, 727. Price, 10 *marks*. Berlin, 1901: Akademischer Verlag fur sociale Wissenschaften.

[2] Contributed by Dr. C. W. A. Veditz, Lewiston, Maine.

PROF. PAUL MONROE'S "Source Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period" [1] is an excellent example of modern methods in historical work. In the first place, Prof. Monroe is a specialist along the lines of Education, and his history is one which adopts the scientific classification of data established within his field. In the second place, his method itself is scientific, one which lends itself to well-founded conclusions. Moreover, the work is highly intensive, *i. e.*, it is limited to such a small section of the field that the bottom facts may be reached. The advantage of such effort is that it not only yields a conclusive result for the particular cross-section of the scientific field to which it belongs, but allows the result thus arrived at to be correlated with the conclusions of others who are exploiting other parts of the subject. The volume is divided into two parts: The first has for its subject *Greek Education*, the second *Roman Education*. The comprehensive nature of the work may be shown by reference to the chapter divisions: Part I has for its main topics (1) Old Greek Education, (2) Education of Women in Greece, (3) New Greek Education, (4) Greek theorists: The Historic view; the Philosophical view; the Scientific view; (5) The Later Cosmopolitan Greek Education. Part II includes the sources of Roman Educational history under (1) Early Roman Education in General, (2) Second period of Early Roman Education, (3) Contrast between the Earlier and Later Records of Roman Education, (4) Survival of Early Roman Educational Ideals in the Later Period, (5) The Third period: The Hellenized Roman Education, (6) The Orator as the ideal of Roman Education, (7) Scientific exposition of Roman Education. His method is one most successfully employed in *teaching* from sources—that of lending the interpretation of the trained specialist to the facts or sources used as a base. While the book does not contain the facts and sources which alone would be sufficient to construct a history, they are taken as typical. It is intended that the work of author and instructor will supplement that of editor and compiler.

THE TIME TABLE OF MODERN HISTORY: A. D. 400–1870 [2] is made up of parallel tables giving the principal events in the development of the different countries of Europe since the year 400. This chronological tabulation of events is followed by carefully worked out genealogical tables, a list of the ruling monarchs with their dates, from 400 to 1870, and a somewhat unique general chart of ancient and modern

[1] Pp. 515 New York: Macmillan Co., 1901.

[2] Compiled and arranged by M. Morison. Pp. 161. Price $3.50. New York: Macmillan.

history. Eleven good maps, showing the political changes in Europe during the period, are added in the form of an appendix. For the first edition of a work of this character it is remarkably free from errors, although some rather curious misprints have slipped in. The form and plan of the work give it many decided advantages over the usual manuals of European history.

A SKETCHY AND HANDSOMELY illustrated volume on "The Mohawk Valley, its Legends and History," by W. Max Reid,[1] in a manner supplements the fast growing local history of the state. While too broad in scope and time to even approach a comprehensive result, its picturesqueness in form and its interesting detail make it a thoroughly readable work.

IN "A HISTORY OF ENGLAND,"[2] Professor Benjamin Terry, of the University of Chicago, tells the story of the island from the earliest times to the death of Queen Victoria. England, from which has radiated the dominant modern race, has for decades been the center of interest for the student of history. From the breadth of the theme one could not hope to find results of original research. The contribution made by Prof. Terry is in the direction of better organization of the materials already made available. He has arranged the data of English history around the dramatic points in national activity. The text is well supplemented with maps and tables of genealogy and important dates. It is designed for high school and college use.

A NEW EDITION of "Domestic Manners of the Americans"[3] is certainly very appropriate at this time, when more than at any other since the book was first published the American is self-conscious, perhaps vainglorious, and the world interested in his weaknesses. Mrs. Trollope and her American contemporaries little dreamt that within three generations the extravagances and paradoxes of Jacksonian democracy would be regarded by the Americans themselves as objective and foreign. Yet this new edition is welcome in much the same sense as old mahogany tables, andirons and the historical novel.

But the observations and the logic of the book deserve careful study. The author attributed the crudities of frontier life, from the tobacco quid to the "horse and alligator oratory" of the period, to our liberal institutions. Similar deductions are made to-day by English labor

[1] Pp. 455. Price, $3.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.

[2] Pp. xii, 1100. Price, $2.00. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1901.

[3] Domestic Manners of the Americans. By Mrs. TROLLOPE (1832). Revised edition in one volume. Pp. xvi, 303. Price, $2. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1901.

leaders, Fabian socialists, litterateurs and parliamentarians, who make butterfly visits to one city and another, and thereafter speak oracularly of the influence of our political system upon our manners. Not less superficial and frequent is the American pseudo observer, who learns foreign customs and life and institutions in a summer holiday. After reading Mrs. Trollope one will take less seriously the foreigners' estimate of institutions, whether the foreigner be French, English or American.

In some respects our manners seem to have changed since 1831. We no longer make such a fetich of the sovereign state that "every debate is upon one and the same subject." We seem to have outgrown completely the belief that "the greatest injury, the basest injustice, the most obnoxious tyranny that could be practiced against a state would be a vote of a few million dollars for the purpose of making their roads or canals." It cannot be said to-day "there is less almsgiving in America than in any other Christian country," nor is there a notable "absence of poor laws." Violation of law no longer characterizes even our frontier, nor could our election returns justify the following definition of our "glorious institutions"—"incessant electioneering, without pause or interval for a single day, for a single hour of (our) existence."

ONE WHO WISHES to get a general knowledge of the factory legislation of England and her colonies can do no better than read "The Case for the Factory Acts,"[1] edited by Mrs. Sidney Webb. The various chapters are written by English women who know the field. Mrs. Humphrey Ward contributes the Introduction, Mrs. Webb the chapter on "The Economics of Factory Legislation," Miss B. L. Hutchins "The Historical Development of the Factory Acts," Miss Gertrude Tuckwell "The More Obvious Defects in Our Factory Code," Mrs. W. P. Reeves "Colonial Developments in Factory Legislation," Miss Clementina Black "Some Current Objections to Factory Legislation for Women." The book is the result of a Labor Law Association, whose object was to spread information regarding the Factory Acts and their effects, particularly upon women. An appendix suggests books for further reading. The book is admirably adapted for its purpose.

A NEW EDITION of Professor Tufts' translation of Windelband's History of Philosophy has just been issued by the Macmillan Company. For ten years Windelband's work has had a position of its own. It frankly abandons the traditional methods of presentation,

[1] London: Grant Richards, 1901. New York: E. P. Dutton. Price, $1.00.

substituting for men and systems the vital thoughts for which the men contended, and of which the systems were but the garments. He endeavored to trace the origin and development of those thoughts age by age from the beginnings of speculation to the present day. Broad learning, a judicial habit of mind, a rare gift for the weaving of many threads, drawn from widely scattered sources, into one coherent whole, had well fitted the author for his task. The work is now an acknowledged classic. The second German edition has been revised throughout and somewhat enlarged. This new edition of Professor Tufts' excellent translation seems to have been reprinted for the most part from the plates of the first edition, the additions and corrections of the second German edition being added in an appendix.[1]

REVIEWS.

The Control of Trusts. By JOHN BATES CLARK. Pp. 88. Price, 60c. New York: The Macmillan Company.

"The Control of Trusts" is the title of a little book by Professor John B. Clark, of Columbia University, in which he has brought together, in connected series, his discussions of the various phases of the trust problem that have appeared in our periodical literature.

Many volumes have been written on the subject of trusts, but Professor Clark's treatment is a departure from the usual, in that he discusses it from the point of view of economic theory, and advocates a certain definite policy. Centralization and combination *per se* are not bad, as he sees it, but become so only when by unfair means they prevent competition, either real or political, from entering the field in which it is needed. The efficient independent producer insures competition and is our guardian against the evils which flow from monopoly control. But the trust can by its predatory methods ruin him; when economy in production no longer protects him against his strong assailant it is time for the state to intervene. Drastic laws have been enacted with but little effect; but statutes cannot be our sole reliance. At this point Professor Clark invokes the common law for relief. He considers it the most efficient means of curbing the power of the trusts; for it contains the "never-to-be-abandoned principle" that monopolies are contrary to public policy and definitely outlawed. "The common law," says Professor Clark, "forbids monopoly, and there is no possible danger that this prohibition will ever be abandoned . . The thing to be done is to discover what is a monopoly, and to decide what shall be done with it when it is identified." This duty rests upon the courts, nor have they hesitated to assume it. The federal "anti-trust" act of 1890 left the task of defining monopoly

[1] Contributed by Wm. Romaine Newbold.

with the court, and that has been the chief cause of its failure. There being no common law offences against the United States, the federal courts cannot look to that body of law as a source of criminal jurisdiction. Crimes and offences against the United States must be expressly designated by law; Congress must define the same, fix their punishment and confer the jurisdiction to try them. But when Congress adopts or creates common law offences, then the courts can resort to that law for the true meaning and definition of such crimes.[1] In construing the law of 1890, the court resorting to the common law definition of monopoly came to the conclusion that it meant: the selling *alone* or exclusively *all* of a particular kind of merchandise or commodity to the detriment of the public, all others being restrained from the exercise of a right or liberty which they had before the monopoly was secured. This view or definition is quite at variance with Professor Clark's idea of a monopoly. He reaches his conclusion that the common law furnishes an adequate remedy for the evils of monopoly from definitions not employed by the courts. If he were to proceed from their definitions and premises his conclusion would be quite different, *i. e.*, that the common law, as understood and enforced against monopolies and contracts in restraint of trade at the present time, is not an efficient remedy with which to combat the evils of our present commercial and industrial system.

FRANK E. HORACK.

University of Pennsylvania.

Municipal Administration. By DR. JOHN A. FAIRLIE, Assistant Professor of Administrative Law in the University of Michigan. Pp. 447. Price, $3.00. New York: Macmillan Co., 1901.

Dr. Fairlie's book is designed "to give a general knowledge of the whole field of municipal administration for those interested in public affairs, and at the same time to form the groundwork for more detailed investigation to those who make this a special field for academic study or for practical purposes." The author has succeeded in collecting a vast amount of information, statistical and historical, and has put it in interesting and readable form.

Part I is an historical survey of cities ancient and modern. The importance of ancient cities, the decline during the middle ages, the modern revival, and the reasons therefor are clearly set forth. It is interesting to note that ancient cities had many experiences with that class of public servants known as "boodlers." "The improvement of municipal conditions which marks the beginnings of modern city life" are found in the reign of Louis XIV. England first felt the pressure

[1] *Cf.*, opinion of Circuit Judge Jackson, 52 Fed. Rep.

of the urban movement and in many ways has best met the situation. Nearly 30 per cent of the English people now live in cities of over 100,000 population. In this urban movement the United States is second, followed closely by Germany. The chapter on Municipal Development in the United States is of special interest. Dr. Fairlie notes five changes from 1820–1850. (1) Mayors elected by popular vote; (2) extension of bicameral system of council organization; (3) general adoption of manhood suffrage; (4) some expansion of municipal activity with (5) corresponding development of special legislation. From 1850 to 1870 there was a great extension of municipal activity accompanied by development of the spoils system. Since 1870 municipal government has greatly improved.

In Part II Dr. Fairlie discusses Public Health and Safety, Charities, Education and Municipal Improvements. Attention is particularly called to two aspects of municipal activity. In the first the authorities are in reality agents of the central government performing "the state functions of local administration." In the second purely local needs and conditions are met. As illustrative of the former the police force is cited. In this department the central government has often assumed control. Thus the police of London, Berlin, Paris, Vienna and Tokio are in direct control of the general government. In the United States the police force of St. Louis, Baltimore, Cincinnati, San Francisco and many smaller places are responsible to boards appointed by the state. "The courts in the United States have repeatedly declared that police officers are not private or corporate officers of the municipality but public or state officers." The general field of Charities and Education is covered. One is surprised to find no reference to municipal reformatories, houses of correction, probation officers and truant schools. The writer doubtless felt that these were too much matters of detail. The various problems of lighting, paving, highways, sewage, etc., are discussed under Municipal Improvements. The question of public ownership and control of such enterprises as street railways Dr. Fairlie thinks must be decided on general grounds. He states these conclusions: "1. Where a private company has shown itself well managed and active in the public interest, it seems doubtful policy to run the risk of a less able management under municipal control; but agreements even with such a company should be carefully drawn to safeguard the interests of the city.

2. "In the case of franchises granted without proper provisions, the first step to be taken is to compel the reduction of rates or an improvement in facilities so that the company will receive only a fair income from its property. If this is not done, little will be gained by a muni-

cipal purchase of the plant at the swollen values due to the high rates charged.

3. "After such a reduction in rates, or upon the expiration of a franchise in a city which has managed other public works with success, and is not already involved in as many undertakings as it can manage, municipal ownership of monopolies is advisable."

Part III treats of Municipal Finances. Dr. Fairlie shows that in England and Wales, though the population trebled during the last century, the taxes collected by local authorities multiplied sevenfold. In France from 1836 to 1899, "while population has gained one-sixth, municipal expenditures have increased six times. The same tendency exists in other countries. In England and Wales municipal expenditures in 1890 were about $10.03 per capita; United States (1890), $6.80; Belgium (1892), $5.97; France (1891), $3.34.

Part IV deals with Municipal Organization, and closes with a chapter on Proposed Plans of Municipal Organization, in which the scheme of the committee of the National Municipal League is set forth. Dr. Fairlie believes that the city should be divided into permanent districts, recognizing the main natural boundaries, each district electing councilmen in proportion to population. "Such a system would make it difficult to gerrymander districts." "It is also adapted to plans of proportional representation. In the election of mayor an absolute majority of votes should be required at the first ballot, so that a candidate may not be chosen who is supported by a minority of the voters."

Each chapter is headed by an excellent bibliography. The value of all the discussions is enhanced by the constant comparison of cities in the various countries. Moreover, the statements are drawn from reliable sources and are brought well down to date. There are doubtless minor errors as on page 190, where, in stating the municipal grants to charitable institutions, the author overlooked the fact that Chicago makes an appropriation of $10,000 or so yearly to the St. Vincent's Infant Asylum. These, however, are of little significance. Dr. Fairlie is to be congratulated on having done so much and done it so well.

The work will be of great service to all interested in municipal problems. It may well serve as the basis of class work, although the price has been fixed rather high for general college use.

CARL KELSEY.

Philadelphia.

The Anthracite Coal Industry. By PETER ROBERTS, Ph. D., with an Introduction by W. G. SUMNER, LL. D. Pp. 261. Price, $3.50. The Macmillan Company, 1901.

Two-thirds of Dr. Roberts' monograph represents a type of economic

literature which is happily supplanting the theoretical studies of academicians. The author first describes the anthracite coal industry as an economic fact, afterwards indulges in a series of short sermons, taking his text from the facts presented. It is no great discredit to Dr. Roberts to say that in view of his close association with a most suggestive and stimulating environment, he has apparently gone far afield in the endeavor to present an application of the doctrine of *laissez faire*, which, while highly interesting, has no visible connection with the body of his work and is unlikely to be accepted by many of his readers. It is to be hoped, however, that in the companion volume, which the author has promised, he will confine himself more strictly to the description of situations, allowing his readers to square the facts with their own theories as best they can. The author can be sure that most of those who read his book have their own opinions as to the justice of existing economic institutions, and he can rely upon it that these opinions will be modified, if at all, by facts ungarnished with social philosophy.

With this brief word of suggestion, which is inspired by regret that the effect of good practical work should be in any way marred by gratuitous exhortation, let us turn to consider the real contribution which Dr. Roberts has made. The book is divided into twelve chapters, eleven of them mainly concerned with description and the twelfth with reflections upon the relations which should exist between the different productive factors. A summary of the contents of the volume will give the best idea of its importance. In chapter I, under the title, "The Anthracite Coal Deposits," the author discusses the physical and chemical nature of anthracite coal, the location and area of the coal fields, with some account of their geological structure, as bearing on the thickness and depth of the coal veins, and the total amount of coal still to be mined. Chapter II is concerned with the methods of mining, and shows in much detail the evolution of the present system from the simple quarry methods of early times. A feature of peculiar value is a precise statement of mining costs. Especially valuable also is an exposition of the method by which wages are determined. The facts presented in this chapter afford material by which the working out in coal mining of the law of diminishing returns can be fully illustrated. Chapter III estimates the capital invested in the anthracite fields and the average cost of producing a ton of coal. The author concludes, after presenting a gratifying amount of evidence, that the average cost of production is not far from $1.25 per ton. Chapter IV, on transportation, leaves much to be desired. It is very well known that the transportation problem, especially in its relation to the capitalization and fixed charges of the anthracite coal carriers, is

of paramount significance to the industry, but the author passes it over with the briefest comment. It may be indeed, that this subject is too vast for even attempted treatment within the limits of a single chapter, but the brief account of the relations between the coal and transportation companies and the struggle of the independent operators for lower rates leaves many points of great interest unmentioned.

Chapter V, on "Mining Management and Discipline," is largely composed of a summary of the laws which regulate this subject, with explanations of the purpose and necessity of such regulations. Chapter VI, on "Employees and Wages," in the main traverses familiar ground. The personnel of the labor force is discussed, the rates of wages given, and some mention is made of the unseen factors, such as the price of powder, the number of days of work, the amount of dockage, and the variations in the size of veins, which influence the annual earnings of the miner. Particular emphasis is laid on the fact that the decreasing thickness of the veins must operate either to raise the rate of wages or to lower the standard of living of the miners. Chapter VII, is the most suggestive and original in the entire book. It deals with the "Incidental Profits of Operators," and is primarily concerned with the company store. The author shows that while these institutions enjoy marked advantages, in their freedom from bad debts, or advertising expenses, and in the lower charges for clerk hire and the lower prices which they can secure on their larger cash purchases over the independent or "truck" stores, they not only do not share these advantages with their customers, but as a rule charge from 10 to 30 per cent more for their goods than the independent store. Some of the arguments which Mr. Roberts gives on either side of the company store question are as follows:

For the company store, (1) "It offers the employee a store on which he can draw from the first day he works, to the full extent of his earnings; (2) "It gives the drunkard's wife the privilege of receiving the necessary monthly supply for the family before the husband gets his wages — —;" (3) It raises the standard of living of the labor population by forcing them to purchase a better grade of commodities. Against the company store, (1) Discouragement to the miner from never handling his earnings; (2) Encouragement to improvidence; (3) Deprivation of cash in hours of emergency; (4) Favoritism and tyranny in the mines. Chapter VIII deals with accidents in the mines. The number of accidents is given, and they are classified by causes, ages, and nationality. More accidents are ascribed to falls of rock and coal than to any other cause. From 1890 to 1899, 44.47 per cent. of the total were ascribed to this cause. The greater number of accidents from this cause are due to the carelessness of the miners,

especially to the carelessness of the foreign-born miners. Chapters IX and X deal with strikes and unionism. These are of a sketchy, historical character, the subjects being too extensive for adequate treatment within such narrow limits. The activities of the unions from 1868 to 1871, with the strikes of that period, the non-union interval, and the recent organization and successful strike are described. The description of the hold which unionism has upon the anthracite region at the present time is excellent. Chapter XI is entitled "Reclaiming the Waste." It describes the causes of waste and the methods adopted in recent years for marketing the smaller sizes of coal which were formerly wasted. Chapter XII is entitled "Reflections" and partakes strongly of the hortatory character. The volume is adequately illustrated by maps, diagrams and charts, and contains a large amount of statistical material, most of which will prove of value.

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Studien zur Geschichte der Englischen Lohnarbeiter. By GUSTAV F. STEFFEN. Vol. I, Parts 2 and 3. Pp. 335. Price, 7 *m.* Stuttgart: Hobbing & Büchle, 1901.

In the second and third installments of his careful investigation of the history of the English working people, Dr. Steffen has brought his inquiry down to about the middle of the eighteenth century. The first period, that before 1350, was covered in the first part of the volume and has been already reviewed.[1] The second period deals with the changes in the economic and legal status of the English working people during the breaking up of feudalism, from 1350 to 1540. During this time, the author finds that the purchasing power of the laborer increased steadily, but particularly during the years 1332-35 and 1376-78, and that his economic position was greatly improved. While not denying the effect of the black death in bringing about this result, by reducing the number of laborers, he considers that Rogers has greatly overestimated the importance of this event. Dr. Steffen does not accept Rogers' population statistics as conclusive, based as they are largely on the acreage in wheat, for he shows that rye and other grains formed an important part of the food supply of that period. The black death fell in the middle of a period of social change and only gave to the latter part of it a more radical character than it might otherwise have had. The change to money payments and a wage system had already begun in the first part of the fourteenth century, and was not the result of the black death, which at most but emphasized the change.

[1] See the ANNALS, May, 1901, p. 125.

Under the capitulation of the third period, Dr. Steffen describes the economic changes which occurred under the successful regulation of the labor contract during the years 1540 to 1660. This period witnessed a great advance in prices and a decline in the purchasing power of wages, a decline of perhaps a third in the first half of the seventeenth century, below the latter part of the fifteenth. This was partially compensated for, however, by the increase of opportunities for work.

The general rise in prices was caused, according to Dr. Steffen, by two sets of causes, one the general economic development of the country, and the other the legislative measures of the government. To the former category belong the technical improvements in industry and agriculture, the changing relations between employer and employee, the increased output of the precious metals and the increase of the population. To the latter group belong the monopolies, colonial expansion and the work of the merchant adventurers, enclosures, the tariff, taxation, the poor laws, the recoinage, and the confiscation of the church property. From the middle of the sixteenth century dates the decay of the English peasantry; the farm laborers sink to a position wholly dependent upon a sharply opposed wealthy, powerful and united class of employers, from which condition they do not rise for three hundred years.

The fourth period, beginning with 1660, brings us down to 1760. A time of preparation for the introduction of the factory system, it was marked by a great improvement in the economic condition of the laborer. The beginning of our modern system still found him, however, burdened with a mass of social and legal disadvantages, while the employing class, during the preparatory period, were arming themselves with all the advantages which a friendly legislation, a favorable social order and distribution of wealth could produce.

The history of the last phase of industrial development, the growth of the factory system, has been saved for a second volume.

Dr. Steffen has given us in this first volume a critical history of wages and the standard of living of the English working people down to 1760. It is a special study and takes for granted a knowledge not only of the political, but also of the economic history of England. Characterized by true German diligence and perhaps diffuseness, the book bears also a not less Teutonic polemical stamp. In dealing with complicated economic phenomena it is difficult to secure continuity of thought and narrative; and in endeavoring to meet this difficulty, the author has fallen into the error of being too schematic. But in spite of these defects, the work is undoubtedly a careful and valuable study of the history of the English laborer.

Oberlin College. ERNEST L. BOGART.

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NOTES.

I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

Pittsburg.—*The Pittsburg Ripper.* [1] As a scene for political battles, Pittsburg presents a condition peculiar to "one-party states." The strength of the Republican party is so great that any struggle for political supremacy here can be along factional lines only. For many years the city has been under what might be termed a beneficent ring. That is, the ring has taken a pride in the city and developed its parks, traction lines, etc. The feelings of the public were not outraged by any open alliance with vice, and peculation was confined to the more tolerable methods of contracts, free franchises, etc. Between this ring and the larger state organization there was for many years an amicable territorial agreement, by which each contracted to keep off the other's preserves. The agreement was fairly adhered to. An invasion of Allegheny County by the state organization was threatened a few years ago when the latter was about to aid a local reform movement. At the last minute before the election, however, a peace was patched up in which the reform was left out of consideration.

The lingering illness of the late C. L. Magee, who had so long been the county leader, brought the necessity and opportunity for a change in leadership. Just at this time there was, in addition to the men who had been in politics for some time, a group of men who had political aspirations, for the realization of which these and other circumstances made the time most opportune. But the aims of these aspirants for political preferment conflicted with those of both state and local machine leaders. This incompatibility caused the Ripper legislation, which was the result of an alliance of the state machine, or stalwarts, with the local debutantes against the local ring.

As originally drafted this now historic document was the result of conscientious study, and was fully in accord with the modern theory of the concentration of responsibility and power. It contained, in the original, a provision for a civil service system. This, however, did not survive, though the *Ripper Clause*, from which the bill takes its name, went through safely. The clause provided that until the next city election, the executive officers of second-class cities should be appointed by the governor and subject to his removal.

Notwithstanding the high character of the Ripper Recorder, the process of decapitating the former ring officials was relentless. The

[1] Contributed by C. D. Scully, Pittsburg, Pa.

taxpayer and business man looked on in indifference or dismay. The press was so extravagantly partisan that the people came to realize that the editorials and news columns were but "surges of insensate passion and unreasonable opinion." Street railway franchises were given away by the new machine despite the Anti-Elevated League and its mass meetings of protest. The show of power brought to terms the leader of the old ring, who used the remnants of his influence for the straight party ticket at the November election. The consideration for his "loyalty" was made known to the public a fortnight after the victory of the state machine, when the governor removed his own Recorder and appointed one named by the local ring. That is to say, the beneficent ring purchased local autonomy in exchange for recognition of the sovereignty of the state machine, to which all homage is rendered at state elections. In a word, the Ripper has been turned on the Rippers.

It is significant that the opposition to the Ripper has been principally on business grounds. There has been little debate of the real fundamental issue of Home Rule vs. State Interference in purely local administrative affairs.

"L" Roads.[1] The much-talked-of Pittsburg "L" roads are apparently dead, but a few postmortem inquiries may nevertheless be of interest in view of the altered condition of politics since the November election. The act under which these roads were chartered was approved June 7, 1901, and provides "for the incorporation and government of passenger railways, either elevated or underground, or partly elevated and partly underground, with surface rights." Under this act five people could associate and obtain a charter by filing papers with the Secretary of the Commonwealth. On June 20, however, an act was passed requiring all applications for such charters to be passed upon by a board, of which the governor and Secretary of the Commonwealth are members. The significance of this is easily comprehended. All the charters were taken out in the names of prominent business men in the city, most of whom are noteworthy also as the leaders in the "Ripper" legislation of last spring.

As the execution of the scheme depended on the favorable action of the City Councils, only a preliminary organization with nominal capital was made in each case. Under the general act many charters through the western end of the state were taken out, but within the city limits there were twelve for elevated and underground roads, aggregating about thirty-one miles, and varying in length from a half mile to six and a half miles. There were besides these many surface

[1] Contributed by C. D. Scully, Pittsburg, Pa.

charters, to which but slight objections could be made. The "L" charter covered streets already occupied by the Consolidated Traction Company, while the object in the surface roads was apparently to take up important unoccupied streets. The propositions covered by some of these charters seemed absurd. For example, a surface line was projected in one of the residence portions of the city, running three blocks along a street as yet unopened, then two blocks to the point of beginning. This made a loop of ten blocks from an unimportant residence corner back to it again, through an unimportant part of the town, with no apparent reason or excuse whatever for such a road. Of the proposed schemes, the one which appealed most favorably as a business proposition was tunneling through the hill from a point near the Union Station and then going on to the East End. Such a tunnel seems destined to be dug some day, for it would shorten the trip from the heart of the city to the East End residence district by many minutes, besides avoiding many power-consuming grades.

The granting of the charters created more stir in Pittsburg than any event in recent years, not excepting even the "Ripper Bill." "L" roads were the universal subject of conversation, and the projectors soon found themselves with a fight on their hands. There sprang up within a very short period an organization known as the Anti-Elevated League, an association of citizens irrespective of party, most of them being property owners along the projected lines. The citizens' committee of this organization represented an aggregate estimated wealth of $250,000,000, having some of the city's most influential citizens among its members. A determined fight was at once begun. Meetings were held in every ward in the city afflicted by the proposed roads. These were well attended, and resolutions for presentation to councils protesting against the passage of ordinances in favor of the roads were adopted. In order to obtain funds for campaigning, a contribution was asked of one-half mill on the dollar on property affected. As this property was valued at $91,000,000 the levy would have given an ample fund if all owners had responded, but the return was very small. Literature was sent out and property holders and councilmen were interviewed. Personal interviews were had with 3,200 property holders, of whom 2,950 were opposed to "L" roads—50 favored them and 200 were for various reasons non-committal.

The league was entirely independent in politics, having no alliance with either the Democratic party or the "Insurgents." The position taken by the press of the city was of course affected by the political situation. The *Press* and *Times*, representing the "Insurgent" wing of the Republican party, attacked the charters and their owners very bitterly. The *Gazette* and *Telegraph* belonging to one of the pro-

moters supported the charters and endeavored to show editorially and by cartoons, etc., the inadequacy of the present traction system. Of the independent papers the *Post*, as a Democratic paper, was naturally against the franchises. The *Leader* took the stand that no favorable ordinance should be passed without an indemnity clause. The *Dispatch* seemed at heart to be in sympathy with the "L" roads, but did not come out for them. Letters from "Taxpayers" and "Interested Citizen" *et al.* were very frequent and very bitter in their tone.

One of the surprises in the movement was the apparent lack of concern on the part of local traction officials. Interviews with their officers revealed a very cool attitude for persons whose interests were apparently threatened as were theirs. The Consolidated Traction Company did not contribute to the league, nor were any traction officials identified with it. This would lend some color to the statement that the whole affair was gotten up to bear traction stocks. It had that effect, traction stocks going up many points immediately after the launching of the scheme.

The conditions which the "L" promoters had to face were not those which met earlier traction promoters. The earlier lines were gladly given the most valuable concessions, because before their time there were practically no traction facilities. The "L" promoters brought before the city council a proposition to take up many streets unoccupied, and to disfigure others with unsightly trestles, etc., and offered in return 5 per cent of their net receipts. The room for contraction in net receipts is very great, and it was this feature of the offer that gave the most material for caustic editorials on the part of the opposition press.

The remarkable thing about the Anti-L League is the fact that, after all, it had apparently no effect upon the November election. In the opinion of the chairman of the executive committee, it helped the straight ticket. The vote would seem to show this. The efforts of the league were not, however, useless, for the determination with which it went to work showed what would be done if the project were revived.

At present, things are at a standstill with regard to the movement. All the preliminary surveying has been done for the roads, but the engineers have been instructed to stop work. The ordinances granting the franchises are in the hands of a committee, an attempt to withdraw them having been overwhelmingly defeated. The league will maintain its organization until after the February election, when an attempt will be made to extract a pledge against "L" ordinances from every councilman. The new Recorder is tightly pledged to veto such an ordinance should it pass. There seems every assurance

that "L" roads are dead. With the great growth of the city there must be a further development of its traction facilities, but it is evident that the development must be on other lines than those described above.

Providence.[1]—*Tramway Transfer Tickets.* The issue in the mayoralty election of last November was station plan or transfer tickets. The mayor advocated transfer tickets and was re-elected by a vote of 10,961 to 4,655, a majority unprecedented in the city. During the campaign there was a noticeable unanimity of support on the part of the press to the candidate favoring the tramway company's proposition, the station plan. Only one small daily advocated the transfer ticket. The triumphant re-election of Mayor Granger in the face of the united opposition of the press suggests that while in ordinary times the press is a tremendous power, yet at critical times like this it carries no weight if on the wrong side of an important question.

Home Rule. State Appointed Police and License Commission. Immediately after the election the Common Council passed a resolution asking the legislature to take from the city the control of its police and license systems and to place these in the hands of a commission appointed by the governor. This extraordinary action was taken without warning to the people of the city and without any public discussion or popular demand. It is stated that the committee which considered it was called together on Sunday without the usual notice to the mayor and that enough votes to insure its passage were secured between then and Monday evening, when the Council met. It is commonly ascribed to the desire of the machine to gain control of the political patronage of these two departments and to rebuke the re-elected mayor. The act was drawn up on the same night that the resolution was passed, and introduced in the legislature the next morning. It was referred to a committee which gave a hearing the following day. The committee room was crowded with citizens eager to declare that they did not want the act, and in the evening a tremendous meeting of protest filled the largest hall in the city. The mayor, the Episcopal bishop-coadjutor of this diocese, and prominent men of both political parties made the hall ring with indignant protests, which called forth storms of applause. The lieutenant-governor of the state sent a letter declaring his opposition to the bill and to its principle; but all to no avail. The act was passed the next day by an overwhelming majority. (There has been practically no opposition party in the legislature for some years.) The governor was confined to his bed by illness from which he has since died, but the machine promptly sent down to his country home the names of the men wanted

[1] Contributed by Sidney A. Sherman, Ph. D.

on the commission and their appointment came back with his signature.

The governor of this state has no veto power, and his appointing power is but a shadow. By a remarkable amendment to the constitution adopted a year or two since, the senate can itself make appointments if it fails to confirm the governor's appointees within three days. As this same senate consists of one senator from each town and city and as the majority come from the rotten boroughs, public opinion has little weight when opposed to machine dictation. The commission thus hastened into existence has gone to work with a flourish of trumpets. It remains to be seen whether it can win the confidence of the taxpayers and voters of the city.

Trenton.—*Non-Partisan Police Department.*[1]—The city of Trenton has a non-partisan police administration. A referendum, authorized by the legislature, resulted in the establishment of a non-partisan board of police commissioners, four in number, who direct the affairs of the department, make rules and regulations for its guidance and examine applicants. The candidate must have been five years a citizen of the United States, and a resident of Trenton for the same space of time. He must show a certificate signed by two reputable citizens of Trenton certifying to his good moral character. Conviction for crime disqualifies the applicant. He must be able to read and write the English language. He is assured that, if accepted, promotion will depend entirely upon his activity, intelligence and good conduct. The department requires $80,000 per annum for its maintenance. There are two precincts, ninety-six officers and employees. The patrolmen are divided into three divisions, with practically twenty-five men in each division. The pay of the first is $70.00, the second $67.50 and the third $65.00 per month. Classification is made by seniority of service, men being advanced solely upon merit. The Board of Commissioners has power to punish by suspension, withdrawal of pay for definite periods or reduction in grade.

The present Chief of Police has held the position since 1899, having first entered the service as patrolman in 1885. He has shown marked capacity to organize the details of the department. By a system of scrap-books, thoroughly indexed and intelligently arranged, he follows every phase of police life. In one volume is a complete record of every member of the department, showing his status, merits and demerits. Here on record are excuses offered by men on duty, with endorsements of a superior officer. Officers must report every two hours by telegraph from patrol boxes to the central station, where a record is kept upon a tape. Failure to report within ten minutes of

[1] Contributed by Francis B. Lee, of Trenton.

the scheduled time requires an excuse, which is thoroughly investigated by the Board of Police Commissioners. All of these details are kept indexed for immediate reference; likewise, the volumes containing data with reference to property lost, stolen and recovered, reports of the city detectives, and complaints and reports relating to disorderly houses. The chief keeps upon classified slips a handy daily reference to all these subjects, a practical card index for immediate use. No complaint, however trivial, escapes investigation and record. The people of Trenton, without regard to party, have observed with satisfaction the improvement of methods due to the change to non-partisanship in the administration of the Police Department.

Civic Instruction in Secondary Schools.—Attention has twice been called in this department to the work of the committee appointed by the National Municipal League to inquire as to the extent and betterment of instruction in municipal government given in institutions of learning in the United States. The committee has heretofore confined its inquiries to the curricula of colleges and universities. At its January meeting, Mr. William M. Maxwell, Superintendent of the Brooklyn Schools, and Dr. Cheesman A. Herrick, of the Course in Commerce, in the Central High School of Philadelphia, were requested to join the Committee and to devise methods of reaching the secondary schools.

A similar movement has been begun by the Massachusetts Federal tion of Women's Clubs for the special purpose of extending instruction in civics in the secondary schools. The Civil Service Reform Commitee of the Federation has issued a circular urging the study of civics or theories of good citizenship in the grammar, high and normal schools of Massachusetts and the United States. The circular reads in part as follows:

"We believe that neglect of this teaching of civic virtue has produced many of the corrupting conditions in public life from which our people, in so many places, are struggling to rid themselves. We have not taught our young people that they owe service and devotion to the state, which they cannot withhold without selfishness and dishonor, especially if they owe to their state their education and training. We do not think any citizen can fail to be moved by the great stirring to fuller life of our Republic. The questions all seem so much larger and more vital, demanding in their treatment knowledge and faithfulness of purpose. In themselves these questions are an educating influence, and it seems natural and fitting that we should take a preliminary step, and give some special form of training to the boys and girls into whose hands, in a few years, these

great moral responsibilities are to be given. As regards many things that are taught in our schools, one may hesitate and doubt; but surely in this thing we all agree, that we must give some form of instruction that will raise the standard of citizenship.

"Some of the older ones among us are impressed with the small amount of teaching which is a part of family life, and with the fact that the child's intellectual and moral growth is more and more directed by its teachers. And this not only among the poorer people, where the struggle for daily bread is a large part of life, but among the well-to-do classes, where there is leisure for family life. As the greater number of teachers in our public schools are women, it seems fitting that a special appeal should be made to the Federations and Clubs, that they insist that our schools shall embody in their course of study, instruction which shall send the boy and girl out into life devoted to national and civic ideals of uprightness and honesty."

Ontario.—*Municipal Government.*[1] Municipal government in Ontario is the development of a century. From the settlement of the province, then known as Upper Canada, by the United Empire Loyalists, after the Revolutionary war until 1841, local affairs, in the rural districts at any rate, were almost wholly in the hands of the courts of quarter sessions composed of magistrates, sometimes as many as thirty, appointed for life by the crown. The province was first divided into four districts with a court to each, but these were subsequently subdivided into twenty. The germ of the present democratic system of local government is to be found in a statute of 1793 enabling any two magistrates to authorize the constable of any "parish, township, reputed township or place" to assemble on the first Monday in January the householders to select a clerk, two assessors, a collector of taxes, and a number of overseers of highways, fence viewers, a pound keeper and two town wardens. One warden was to be appointed by the Anglican minister if there was one. As towns and market-places grew up the powers of the general court of quarter sessions regarding purely local affairs gradually passed into the hands of boards of police, but in the rural districts the courts held sway until 1841 when the inhabitants of each district were constituted a municipal corporation. For many years prior to this there had been much murmuring against the often unjust administration of the Sessions, but municipal local government once established it went on growing until now the Municipal Act fills a large volume, and constitutes of itself an important branch of law. The original four districts are now represented by about 700 municipalities.

The complaint of the rural sections came to be too much represen-

[1] Contributed by Mr. Walter Armstrong, Toronto.

tation; the county councils, composed of the reeves and deputy reeves of townships, became too large and unwieldy, and a few years ago relief was sought in an act reducing the number of county councillors by more than half and providing for their election every two years by districts. This reform has proved very beneficial.

The government of Toronto illustrates the farthest advance made in urban municipal administration. The city is divided into six wards, each of which elects annually four aldermen who, with the mayor elected annually by the city at large, compose the council. At their first meeting they elect four controllers, who with the mayor form the board of control, which exercises the executive functions of the government. There are five standing committees of council—works, property, parks, fire and light. They meet fortnightly, and their reports are supervised by the board of control prior to their submission to council. There is now a proposal before council for the election of the controllers by the city at large and the reduction of the number of aldermen to three from each ward.

School affairs are managed by a board of twenty-four trustees, elected by wards for two years, half of them retiring each year. They send their estimates to the city council, and the half-million dollars expended by them is raised along with the city's tax levy. So it is with the police commissioners, the high school board and the public library board. The board of police commissioners, which has entire control of the police force, is made up of the police magistrate, the mayor and the county judge. The high school board is appointed by council and the public school board and the public library board and the technical school board by the council, and other representative bodies, such as the board of trade and trades and labor council. Toronto has a population of 220,000, and its financial operations amount to over six million dollars annually. The city controls its own water supply and is fighting now for the control of the gas supply. Permanent works, such as pavements, sewers and sidewalks, are done on the local improvement system. The local improvement debt is now $3,600,000, and the net general indebtedness $12,883,000.

II. PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

Secretaryship of the National Conference.—Mr. Joseph Byers, secretary of the Ohio Board of State Charities, has succeeded Mr. Homer Folks as secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, the latter, who assumed the duties of this office on October 1, as announced in the ANNALS for November, 1901, having since been appointed Commissioner of Public Charities in New York City. Mr. Byers has occupied his position in Ohio ten years, and has been an active worker in the National Conference.

Mr. H. H. Hart has been secretary of the National Conference since the creation of that office in 1894. Referring to the position which he now relinquishes in the National Bulletin of Charities and Correction, Mr. Hart, after describing the policy of the conference in other respects, speaks as follows:

The general secretary has acted as a connecting link between the National Conference and the state conferences. He has assisted in organizing many of the state conferences, and has thrown the weight of his influence in favor of the same policy which has made the National Conference a success; namely, simplicity and informality of organization; a free platform with few papers and abundant extemporaneous discussion; avoidance of platforms and resolutions, which consume time, create controversy, and carry little influence; avoidance, as a rule, of direct efforts to promote legislation, but the use of such efforts in extraordinary cases where there is general agreement that legislation is imperatively needed, and the use of the conference as an educational force for the creation and crystallization of a healthy public sentiment. Most of the state conferences have adhered quite steadfastly to these principles, and have grown in interest and value accordingly.

State Conferences.—Several of the state conferences have been held since the above mentioned article appeared, and have served to illustrate the value of the policy described. The Indiana conference held at South Bend, October 15 to 17, the Missouri conference held in Columbia, in the buildings of the State University, November 18 and 19, the New York conference, held in New York City, November 19 to 22, the Minnesota conference, held in Owatonna, November 19 to 21, the Michigan conference, held at Ionia, December 10 to 12, and the New Jersey conference at Trenton, February 19 and 20, were in each case of the greatest importance to the local charitable and correctional interests concerned. The state conference has one

advantage over the National Conference, in that the discussions may be more directly fruitful, because the different members have in mind the same conditions, and may join issue with a clearer understanding of the precise evils to be remedied and the particular reforms which are of the greatest immediate interest.

Cuban Conference.—The first Cuban Conference of Charities and Correction will be held in Havana, March 19 to 22. Several American delegates are expected to be present.

Social Workers in Municipal Office.—Mr. Robert W. de Forest, president of the New York Charity Organization Society, and Mr. Lawrence Veiller, assistant secretary of the same society, have been appointed respectively Commissioner and First Deputy Commissioner of tenement houses in New York City; Mr. Thomas W. Hynes, president of the Brooklyn Council of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, as Commissioner of Correction; Mr. James B. Reynolds, head worker in the University Settlement, as secretary to the mayor; and there are several other appointments from the ranks of social workers in Mayor Low's official family.

San Francisco Directory.—A new Charities Directory of San Francisco has been published, compiled by Mary Roberts Smith, Ph.D., associate professor of sociology, Stanford University, and Cora Bell Kimball. The first similar directory was published in 1894, and is, of course, now out of date, so that the labor involved in the present compilation is practically as great as if it were an entirely new undertaking.

This publication is an instance of co-operation, the printing being done at the city's expense, the Associated Charities having contributed the use of an office, a considerable amount of information and of clerical assistance, the Merchants' Association paying for the necessary typewriting, postage and stationery, and the oversight of the work, as has been indicated, having been undertaken by a member of the faculty of Stanford University.

A New State Board.—The last Nebraska Legislature enacted a law creating a State Board of Charities and Correction. As the constitution does not provide for any additional executive officers, it is necessary that some of the present state officers should constitute this board, and the law provides that the Governor, Land Commissioner and Secretary of State shall be the members.

Decrease of Crime in England.—If the statistics of prison population, showing a decrease both absolutely and in proportion to the population outside, be taken as a satisfactory evidence of decrease in crime, then England continues to keep up the good record which she has shown in this direction for more than twenty years. The prison

population has shown various fluctuations since 1877, when the daily average number imprisoned reached nearly twenty thousand. There was a steady decline in the daily average from 1877 to 1892, when it reached 12,663. Since that time the daily average population has fluctuated from 13,000 to 14,739. When we take the whole number of persons committed to prison in England and Wales since 1885 we find that the number of prisoners committed on indictment has decreased 28.8 per cent absolutely and 41.8 per cent relatively to population, and that the number of those committed summarily has decreased 5 per cent absolutely and 22.5 per cent relatively to population. It will thus be seen that the decrease in summary commitments has been much smaller than on indictment, indicating that the decrease has been in the direction of more serious offenses. This conclusion is borne out by the number of sentences to penal servitude. The decrease has been great and progressive. During the five years ended December 31, 1859, the yearly average number of persons sentenced on indictment to penal servitude was 2,589, being 13.4 per cent. of the number of persons sentenced per one hundred thousand of population. The population of England and Wales was then 19,257,000. Taking the year ended December 31, 1900, the number sentenced to penal servitude was 748, the estimated population 32,254,667, the number of persons sentenced per one hundred thousand of population 2.3.

Mentally Defective Prisoners.—The English Prison Commissioners have been giving close attention to the question of the weak-minded prisoners in the local prisons. It is proposed to submit them to special treatment, when from imbecility of mind they are unfit for penal discipline or for the same discipline as other prisoners. But the question will arise why feeble-minded offenders should be sent to prison at all; why they should not receive the same consideration that is now accorded to insane prisoners? A few years ago, on a visit to the Ohio State Institution for the Feeble-minded, at Columbus, Mr. Samuel J. Barrows, secretary of the New York Prison Association, found a man who had figured in all three divisions, the dependent, defective and delinquent. He had begged and been classed as a pauper; he had stolen and been punished as a thief, and finally he had been sent to the Institution for the Feeble-minded, where he belonged in the beginning, and where he was earning the cost of his living by driving a team. There are many such offenders, who are mentally defective and who need not the regime of a prison, but an institution for the feeble-minded.

The National Prison Congress.—The annual session of the National Prison Association convened in Kansas City on November

9, 1901, and remained in session for four days. The president of the association, Mr. Joseph F. Scott, superintendent of the Concord Reformatory, Mass., in his address, gave a comprehensive review of the progress of penology in the United States. Mr. Scott regards the reformatory prison for adults as the most distinctively American project of the past century in prison reform. Among other events of importance are the establishment of separate prisons for women, the adoption of the "good time" and parole laws, the inauguration of the probation system for dealing with offenders outside prisons, the adoption of the Bertillon system of measurements for the identification of criminals, and the separation of the criminal insane.

At the meeting of the Wardens' Association, which is of special interest because it is made up of men who view the subject from the inside, the annual address of the president, the Hon. Otis Fuller, general superintendent of the State Reformatory, Ionia, Mich., awakened much interest by the earnestness with which it condemned politics in prison administration, the fee system and enforced idleness of prisoners.

A new development of the congress is the organization of an association of prison physicians, who will hold sectional meetings such as are held by the Wardens' Association and the Chaplains' Association.

A committee of three, with Mr. Samuel J. Barrows as chairman, was appointed to urge upon Congress the adoption of a general parole law for United States prisoners, whether confined in federal institutions or in prisons and penitentiaries in the various states; and also the adoption of an indeterminate sentence law for United States prisoners committed to institutions, whether state or federal, in which a reformatory and graded system prevails.

Juvenile Courts.—The movement for the establishment of juvenile courts in which youthful offenders shall be entirely apart from adult criminals, is making rapid progress, and in many places, where a separate court has not yet been created by specific statutes, there is a disposition to separate the examination of children charged with criminal offences, from the consideration of other charges. In New York City, the Charter provided for the opening of a Children's Court, on January 1, 1902. In Baltimore and Cleveland, legislation is pending for a similar court. In Washington, pending action by Congress, it has been announced that one of the city judges will adjourn his court at two o'clock in the afternoon, and convene the juvenile court in its place, with a separate docket, and with closed doors. The Police Department is to report to the Board of Children's Guardians each morning at nine o'clock the names and addresses of all the juvenile offenders arrested in the city. This will give opportunity for a

representative of the board to investigate the case before the hour set for the trial of the offender and will enable an officer of the board to be present at the trial of each boy and girl, who will be in position to present facts that have escaped the police officer making the arrest.

Child-Labor in Illinois and Other States.—According to the annual report of the State Factory Commission of Illinois, the employment of child-labor in Illinois has increased 39 per cent in the last year. In 1900 the inspectors found 14,256 children at work in the factories, and in 1901 the number had grown to 19,839, an increase of 5,583. During that time the increase in manufacture was only 9 per cent. The gain in the total employed was 12 per cent or less than a third of the increase in child-labor. There were 369,894 men at work in 1901, a gain of 33,046, and 94,529 women, an increase of 12,951. Of all the labor found in the factories of the state the percentage of children was 4.1 per cent last year and 3.3 per cent the year before. The total number of convictions on account of disobedience of the child-labor law was 725.

The last report of the Iowa Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that a large number of children, some as young as ten years of age, are employed in the factories. The law now prohibits the employment of children under a certain age in coal-mines, but takes no account of child-labor in factories. Governor Shaw, in his farewell message to the legislature, recommended that there should be statutory limitation, and that the bureau of labor "should be clothed with a wise oversight, ample discretion, and plenary powers."

Some interesting facts with regard to the employment of children are coming to light in the Census Bulletins now being issued. Bulletin 99, relating to the manufacture of paper and wood-pulp in the United States, shows that while the average number of wage-earners in this industry has increased from 31,050 in 1890 to 49,646 in 1900 (59.9 per cent), the number of men employed has increased from 24,015 to 41,557 (73 per cent), the number of women from 6,767 to 7,930 (17 per cent), and the number of children under sixteen years of age so employed has decreased from 268 to 169 (36.9 per cent). The number of children employed in this industry has steadily decreased since 1870, being 836 in 1870, 666 in 1880, 268 in 1890, and 169 in 1900. The average number of wage-earners employed in all sorts of manufacturing and mechanical industries in the State of Rhode Island shows an increase of 19 per cent from 1890 to 1900, the increase among the men, however, being 29.8 per cent, among the women, 5.4 per cent, while among the children under sixteen years of age there was a decrease of 13.5 per cent. The number of children under sixteen years of age employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries in Rhode

Island was 5,861 in 1870, 7,548 in 1880, 5,825 in 1890, and 5,036 in 1900.

Institute for Medical Research.—The Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research has published a report, the first fruits of the investigations upon which nineteen special students are now engaged. The present inquiry is into the character of the milk supply of New York City. The report shows that the belief that much of the high infant mortality of the city during the summer is attributable to the quality of the milk supplied in tenement houses is well founded.

The Nurses' Congress.—The third International Congress of Nurses, which met at Buffalo, September 16 to 21, 1901, was a successful meeting and well attended. It has been said that the meeting of the first congress at Chicago, in 1893, marked the beginning of the movement for the higher education in training of professional nurses, and it is confidently expected that the recent meeting will result in a further recognition of the professional status of the nurse, and in the opening of new channels for her usefulness.

Free Lodgings in Chicago.—A municipal lodging-house has been opened in Chicago as the result of an arrangement between the City Homes Association and the Police Department. The association, by the contributions of interested citizens, raised a fund of about $5,000, which has been employed in equipping a house and paying rent until May 1, 1902. This was done on the promise that the city would assume the cost of operation during the winter. The lodging-house occupies a four-story building, and contains new single iron beds to accommodate 225 men. Lodgers are required to register, to give a concise account of themselves with a statement of occupation, where and when last employed, with references. They are given supper and breakfast of bread and coffee, but no dinner is served, and they are not allowed to remain at the lodging-house during the day. The men's statements are investigated as far as practicable, and the man who convinces the management that he is honestly endeavoring to secure employment may remain at the lodging-house four nights, after which he cannot be admitted again for a month. An employment bureau will be conducted at the lodging-house.

The Associated Charities of Boston has made a special report on the subject of "Deserted Wives and Their Deserting Husbands." The report embodies the result of a study of 234 families well known to the society during the past year. About one in ten of the new families brought to the notice of the society is that of a deserted wife; most of these are burdened with young children. For the statistics of nationality, occupation, earnings, ages, etc., we must refer students of this subject to the original pamphlet.

The discussion of causes leads the society to the conclusion that a self-indulgent habit is at the bottom of most desertions, and that the means of prevention lie in education, not only by church and school, but in all social relations.

Whichever of the six methods following seems best, "interim relief," while we are reaching a definite conclusion, is often necessary. The character of the man, how long he has been gone, how many times a deserter, and the likelihood of his return, have carefully to be taken into account, and especially the character of the woman — not only her goodness, but her intelligence and force, her health and her skill, her capacity to serve as both father and mother — and the ability of relatives to give money or care for the children. Concerning remedies, the report says :

1. The first remedy to be considered is that of a *reconciliation;* and this can be sought in only a small proportion of the cases, because the husband's whereabouts cannot be learned or his character is so bad that his going is a good riddance. Sometimes, where the breach between the man and the wife cannot be healed, it is possible to persuade the man to send money toward support; but only 47 of the 234 we have been considering are known to have sent money home.

2. The second remedy considered is helping the family, by providing training or opportunity, to earn *self-support in their own home without the man's help.* The woman who can command independence and reasonable comfort for her children is more likely to deal justly by herself and them in her relations with her husband, than if the few dollars he may give his family are needed for food or rent. Securing *help from relatives* may be considered as a part of this second remedy.

3. Caring for some of the children by charity, in order that the resl of the family may become self-supporting. In some districts this plan is reported as not always successful, but useful in enough instances to make it worth while to keep on trying it in suitable cases. The moral effect on both wife and husband has been good. The agencies for children are more likely to see the dangers in this plan than we, since women who put their children in homes too readily without trying to support them usually go directly to such agencies rather than to us. When a woman puts her children "temporarily" into one home and then another, with short intervals between, the children have no steady bringing up or regular schooling; and some women will put the children into homes while they need her to work for them, and take them out only when the children can work for her. Although such mothers are few in comparison with

the whole number, we must be on our guard against them for the sake of their children.

4. The fourth method is to help the woman to secure legal separation, not divorce. Out of the total number of 234, legal separation was made the condition of our society's securing relief to keep the home together in only 8 cases, and these were scattered in four different districts. By legal separation we mean a decree of the Probate Court, giving the wife the custody of her children, protection for her person, and an allowance of the man's earnings ; but such a separation does not allow remarriage, and meets many of the objections to divorce. It makes the woman practically a widow with children, if she has strength of character to hold to her decision and not take the man back. To make sure that she is really in earnest, it is often suggested that she make her own application for help in getting such a separation ; for, having done so, she is more likely to stand by it.

Indeed, in most cases we refrain from advising legal separation, even when we think it wise, but put the facts plainly before the woman, tell her what advantage legal separation secures and let her decide for herself. Wives often do not realize what it is possible for them to do, and the men impose their own views upon their wives' ignorance. These women need intelligent advisers, and much patient counsel is necessary to help them understand that there is any other way open than to suffer and bear children to a husband they have ceased to respect.

Legal separation is rarely secured, unless both the woman and her friends are convinced that it is needed for the protection of wife and children. Even then the plan sometimes miscarries. In a neighboring city it is reported that in two instances the woman has been on the point of securing this protection, when others who were trying to reform the man urged reconciliation. Temporary reconciliation was secured ; but in at least one of these cases the result for the children has been bad, and more children have been born to an unfit father.

5. When both parents are unfit, the neglect law [of Massachusetts] makes it possible to remove the children to proper care.

6. In the cases where legal separation is secured, and in those where desertion is of long standing — if the wife is capable of serving as both father and mother — the case may be treated as if the woman were a widow, and continuous aid in the home procured, if necessary.

The responsibility of intervening with relief to keep together the family, already broken by the man's desertion, is considered a very grave one, and not to be undertaken without careful thought of the consequences. Even women who are very loth to break up their

home realize the justice of this position. The District 7 report this year gives two reasons for adopting the principle that the home should not be kept together *by relief*— "first, because it is a bad example to other men to see charity assume the responsibility belonging to a husband and father; and, second, because the wife may be secretly receiving money from her husband, as well as relief given by associations." A third reason may be added: the husband himself is encouraged to leave whenever he will, since he finds on his return he can step at once into his old place in the home; and also a fourth reason, that the woman who receives her husband again and again after desertion is weakened in character, often acquires bad habits, and gradually sinks to his level. But in District 7, as in all others, whatever the general principle may be, there is no rule; and each case is considered on its own merits, keeping in mind the results in future years, the effect on family life and on the lives of families of which the children of these deserting husbands will be fathers or mothers.

For prevention, education in wholesome pleasures and in habits of unselfishness. For the deserting husband and father, the certainty that he will be sought out, whether in this state or elsewhere, and required to support his wife and children, and this not for a short time, but permanently. For the deserted family, all the help that ingenuity can devise toward making them self-supporting and self-respecting, whether independence may be reached in a few weeks or not until many years have passed. To these ends, for the benefit of the neglectful man, of his family, and of the community, all social forces, including that of charity, may well bend their energies.

III. INDUSTRIAL NOTES.

A Strike and its Settlement.[1]—The Standish Worsted Co., of Plymouth, Mass., are makers of high-grade cloth for men's wear, and employ 60 weavers.

Without any notice whatever, the company commenced to deduct 3 mills per yard for three-shuttle work, although before this date the minimum price for any shuttle under four was the four-shuttle price, and any over four were paid for at the rate of 3 mills per shuttle. Among the work which the company propose to run with 3 shuttles, are the jobs which were previously worked with 5 shuttles. This meant a cut down of six mills per yard, and as a weaver can turn out about 150 yards per week on this class of work, it was an immediate loss of ninety cents per week. In regard to the weavers' demand for an increase of pay for white work, they had long felt that the difference in the price of white from fancy is too great, white being paid one and a half cents per yard less than fancy. Hence their demand for more pay for white work.

On August 30, during the dinner hour, a meeting of weavers was held, and a committee of three was appointed to wait on the superintendent of the company, state the weavers' grievance and ask for an adjustment. It was agreed that if the committee failed to obtain satisfaction, all weavers should cease work at once. The weavers returned to work at the usual time, and upon the arrival of the superintendent the committee interviewed him. He refused to talk with them or any other committee representing the weavers, claiming that he hired them individually, and that he would only treat with them in the same way.

The committee retired and the weavers at once ceased work. The sudden stoppage brought out the superintendent from the office. He inquired the cause of the trouble, and was informed that the weavers were unwilling to work for the reduced rate of pay. His answer was that any weaver who left the room might consider himself discharged. Without further discussion, the weavers then left the premises. Another meeting was then held, and the weavers, having no organization, proceeded to arrange some program for the conduct of the

[1] This account is inserted because it gives a description of the actual method of strike settlement, written by one of those immediately concerned. The occurrences narrated are in no way remarkable in themselves, but they show the give and take of laborers and employers in a more concrete way than is ordinarily met with in labor literature. The author, Mr. John Beever, is a weaver employed in the mill which was the scene of the controversy. The narrative is given in his own language.—ED.

strike. At this meeting, the advisability of demanding more pay for white work was considered, and it was decided to ask for a rise of one cent per yard on white work. Following this, another attempt was made by the committee to discuss the situation with the superintendent, but without success. The situation remained practically unchanged until Friday, September 6. On that day the company sent out to each weaver the following letter:

"PLYMOUTH, MASS., Sept. 6, 1901.

"MR. J. BEEVER, Plymouth.

"DEAR SIR: We are in want of weavers, and as you discharged yourself August 30, when you left the mill, we will be obliged to fill your place, and unless you decide to go to work Sept. 9, we shall need the tenement for other families.

"Yours truly,

"THE STANDISH WORSTED CO.,

"————, President."

The letter sent to those weavers who were not tenants of company houses was differently worded, but the substance was the same. The superintendent had also talked with various weavers, and made the following propositions: (1) That he would pay a four-shuttle price for everything. (2) That he would pay the 3 mills extra for shuttles over four, but deduct 3 mills for each shuttle under four. (3) That the weavers should leave the matter entirely in his hands.

The propositions were not considered, the weavers refusing to negotiate excepting through their committee. On September 9, Mr. Chas. D. Palmer and Mr. Richard P. Barry, of the State Board of Arbitration and Conciliation, were present at a meeting of weavers. They informed us that it was their business to endeavor to bring masters and workmen into communication with each other so that a settlement might be reached, and they recommended that the weavers elect a most conservative committee for the purpose of conciliation. After they had retired, the question of appointing this committee was thoroughly discussed, and the old committee was eventually discharged and a new one elected. A motion to grant this committee discretionary power was negatived, but they were empowered to make a concession of one-half cent per yard on the demand for white work. This committee, after acquainting them with the main points of the issue, then accompanied the state officials to the offices of the company. The superintendent was at first unwilling to meet the committee on the ground that no committee could properly represent the masters' position to the men, but finally agreed to a conference. The weavers' committee presented a price list embodying their

demands, which were in substance the same price list which had been in force prior to the dispute, with the addition of one cent per yard on white work. In the discussion which followed, the superintendent produced the price list which had been hung in the weave room ever since his connection with the mill, and showed that no provision was made on that list for the payment of anything extra for more than four shuttles. The superintendent claimed the right to deduct 3 mills for each shuttle less than four if he were expected to pay extra for each one over 4. On the face of it, this contention seemed reasonable. The writer, however, was able to produce a pocket memoranda with the record of his work and the price paid for a term of years, from which he proved that the four-shuttle price had been considered a minimum price, and 3 mills per yard had been added for each extra shuttle. The superintendent at once admitted the men's contention, and the discussion turned to the demand for white work. The superintendent stated that he was surprised at this demand, as he had not the least idea until after the strike commenced that there was any dissatisfaction with the present rate of pay. He appealed to the committee to state if it were not possible to earn good wages on that class of work. The committee could only reply that there were some instances where it was hard to earn a good wage, and also quoted one or two cases of mills that paid a higher price for white work. After a long discussion, the superintendent and the members of the State Board of Arbitration retired for a private consultation. On their return, the members of the State Board recommended to the committee that they abandon their demands on white work and make a settlement. This recommendation was accepted, and the committee conceded the half cent per yard, which was all they had power to do. The deadlock, however, continued. The superintendent contended that it was absolutely impossible to pay more for white work. The weavers' committee then left the mill and reported to a meeting of the weavers. This meeting proved to be quite stormy. Some insisted that the full demands should be granted, while others wanted to ask for an increase of 10 per cent on all kinds of work. Eventually a motion for a 10 per cent advance all round was carried. This placed the committee in a most unfortunate position. The ground already gained was practically thrown away and a new issue brought forward. The committee protested and asked for discretionary power. This was ultimately granted, and the committee returned to the offices of the company. We presented the new demand of the weavers, but the effort was foredoomed to failure, as we had no substantial argument to support it. A special effort was made to secure some advance for white work, but the only thing that the manage-

ment was willing to do in this direction was to try to increase the production on this class of work. A settlement was finally effected, the weavers getting what they struck for, that is, no deduction for three-shuttle work and increased pay for extra shuttles, and abandoning their claim for more pay on white work. Work was resumed on Tuesday, September 10, the strike having lasted eight days.

Some Features of Department Store Management.—John Wanamaker's Philadelphia store consists of some 76 departments. At the head of each is a buyer, with whom rests the responsibility of keeping up the stock. He is as entirely independent in his own department as an individual owning a single store; he may buy his goods anywhere, pay whatever price he wishes, and also fix selling prices. These heads of departments receive in some instances as much as $10,000 a year. They make trips abroad once or twice, and sometimes three times a year, study the market conditions, and buy accordingly. Although no restriction is placed upon them, a record of the sales of every department is kept and the head is notified from time to time if his department is running behind or is overstocked.

The heads of the departments each day send to the advertising department a list of the things they wish to be advertised. The advertising department then makes an investigation to see whether the goods are as the buyers represent them. If such is the case the buyer is given a certain amount of space in the advertising page for the next day. During certain seasons of the year, special departments have preference in advertising. During July, for example, a specialty is made of household furniture; during the summer months sporting goods; and at Christmas time toys, and other gift material.

The details of selling are as follows: When a sale is made for cash, the salesman makes out a slip in his salesbook giving his number and the amount of the purchase. The stub of the slip he keeps for his own reference, the top of the slip goes to the accounting department, and the tail of the slip with the address acts as a certificate to the delivery department that it is "O K." A duplicate is enclosed with the package on which is printed the store's guarantee to the customer. In a credit sale, the system is somewhat different. After the purchaser has obtained a certain amount of credit on the books, say $40.00 a month, every purchase made is debited against this. When he makes a purchase, a slip is made out in the usual manner but with the customer's name and address added. This slip is sent to the accounting department where the clerk looks up the account to see if the credit extends to that amount. If so, he "O. K.'s" the slip, and pastes it on the goods which are then ready for delivery. If

the buyer finds that the goods, when delivered, are unsatisfactory, and wishes to exchange them within a limited time he can bring them back to the exchange clerk who makes out an exchange slip. This slip entitles the buyer either to the cash or to an equal value of goods deliverable at any time.

The course of goods through the store is as follows: They are received by the shipper's receiving clerk from the manufacturers, and by him unpacked and sent to the store-room of the various departments. Here the buyer's assistant labels them with their prices. They are next taken by the stock-boy to the counter where they are sold. After being sold, they are given to the wrapper who makes a neat bundle of them, pastes on the "O.K." slip and sends the package to the delivery department. Here they are placed in various bins, each bin representing certain districts of the city. They next pass through the hands of the checker who makes a list of the names and addresses and the wagon to which they are delivered. This is to facilitate the finding of the goods in case of mis-delivery, for the driver is held responsible. Mr. Wanamaker employs about 4,500 persons throughout the year, and at Christmas time 6,500. A record of the progress of the sales people is kept by adding up the amount of the sales in each one's salesbook. In this way the manager can tell exactly how much each person sells, and makes his promotions accordingly. The sales people are directly responsible to the heads of the counters. The heads are responsible to the aisle lieutenants commonly known as floor-walkers. To these all minor difficulties are brought for settlement. The floor-walkers themselves are responsible to the general manager who has charge of the entire business. He does all the hiring and discharging in all departments, and all questions of importance are referred to him.

The bookkeeping system is very simple. The various departments are debited with the value of the goods they buy and credited with the amount sold. All expenses for advertising, etc., are charged proportionately to the various departments, and each is run as a separate store, so that at a glance the owner can ascertain which departments are making money and which losing, with the per cent of loss and gain in each case, and also the percentage of expenses required in the handling of the goods. Some goods are more expensive to handle than others, and allowance has to be made for this in estimating the working expenses in these departments.

The average pay of the ordinary salesman or saleswoman is from $4 to $8 per week, according to the length of the service. If they have been in the company's employ for more than six months, they are entitled to two weeks vacation on full pay. Besides this, on applica-

tion to the general manager, they are allowed a certain amount of time off during which to attend to their own private affairs. It is Mr. Wanamaker's policy to pay his employees as high wages as possible, and their value to the company is ascertained by the record of the sales they make. As this increases their salaries increase. A time clock is used to keep a record of their attendance. The working day is from eight until 5.30, and each employee is supposed to ring in in the morning, and again when he leaves at lunch. The lunch hours are from 11 to 12, 12 to 1, 1 to 2, 2 to 3, so that one-fourth of the employees are at lunch at a time. The store is open at night only ten days in the year, during the rush at Christmas time. [1]

"Short" Selling.—In a recent issue the *Wall Street Journal* explains the method of selling stocks "Short on the New York Stock Exchange," a method of speculation which is but little understood by the general public. The method is as follows :

Customer X directs broker A to sell short 100 shares of Union Pacific at par for his account. Broker B buys the stock. The rules of the stock exchange require the delivery within twenty-four hours of the stock sold. X does not have the stock and must therefore borrow it. He goes to broker C and borrows from him 100 shares of Union Pacific, giving to broker C as security $10,000 in cash. This stock is then delivered by broker A, who sold it, to broker B the purchaser, and B then pays $10,000 therefor. Matters then rest until Union Pacific advances or declines. If the stock declines to 95, X may desire to close his account. He directs broker A to buy Union Pacific at 95 from broker D, and to deliver 100 shares to broker C from whom it was borrowed. C then returns the $10,000 which he had as security from broker A, and $9,500 of this amount goes to broker D, leaving $500 less expenses as the profit of X on the transaction. Or, in case Union Pacific advances to 105 and X wishes to close his account, he must pay the $10,500 for the stock which has been borrowed, and therefore suffers a loss of $500 plus expenses. In either case, X is required by his broker to deposit with him a sufficient margin to cover possible advances in the stock which must be purchased at some future time in order to repay the loan. This margin is usually 10 per cent. It increases if the stock falls below the price at which it was originally sold, and must be increased if the price of this stock rises so far above that point as to endanger the safety of the principal sum advanced by the broker.

While X is waiting to see what the market is going to do with Union Pacific, C, from whom the 100 shares were borrowed, has the use of A's $10,000, and under ordinary conditions pays interest on this

[1] Contributed by Geo. Otis Spencer.

money. This interest is called the loaning rate on stock, and is usually a little below the current rate for loans on collateral. In case, however, the demand to borrow a certain stock is very large, C may have the use of A's $10,000 without paying any interest, and if the demand for the stock is still greater, A might have not only to give C the $10,000 without interest, but pay C a small premium in addition. When the loaning rate of a stock is quoted at 1–32, it means that C gets his $10,000 from A without interest and in addition a premium of $3.12 a day for each 100 shares which is included in the expenses paid by X, who must also pay all dividends that must be declared on the stock. C is entitled to these dividends which go to offset under normal conditions the interest which he is obliged to pay for the use of the money deposited with him as security.

As a general thing it is very easy to borrow stocks to cover short sales for the following reason: A broker who is carrying for a customer 100 shares of Union Pacific at par, would make up the money for the purchase by using $1,000 belonging to the customer, $1,000 of his own money and then would borrow $8,000 from a bank on the security of the 100 shares of stock purchased. When this money is borrowed from a bank, a broker must put up 20 per cent margin on the loan, but if he can lend stocks instead of putting them up as collateral, he gets the full value of the stock and does not have to put up any of his own money or of his customer's money to make the purchase. On this account, every broker is usually willing to lend stock, especially when the demand for stock is so great as to make the loan rate on stocks lower than the market rate of interest. In this case, the broker makes a profit by charging his customer, for whom he has purchased stocks, 5 or 6 per cent interest, while he may secure his money through the loaning of the stock purchased without any cost whatever. For this reason short selling is ordinarily a safe transaction.

The operation of "squeezing" shorts is as follows: Brokers who are "bulls" on a certain stock see a large short interest, that is to say, they see that a large amount of the stock must be borrowed by those who have sold short or must be eventually purchased in order to repay the loans. In such a case the bull party sometimes persuades holders of the stock not to lend it for a day or two and thus compel shorts to cover their commitments by purchasing outright. If the "squeeze" is operated on a large scale brokers are notified to return borrowed stock, aud when they try to borrow elsewhere find little offering. The shorts become alarmed and purchase outright, advancing the price of the stock and enabling holders to sell at a profit. Such operations, however, are comparatively infrequent, and squeezing of shorts on account

of inability to borrow stock is no more frequent than squeezes of "longs," or those who have purchased stocks on account of the inability of brokers to borrow money at moderate rates.

The Florists' Hail Association.[1]—From a geographical viewpoint, the Florists' Hail Association of America is the most extensive association engaged in co-operative insurance in this country.

The florists have succeeded in covering the whole country with a co-operative association for mutual insurance against loss of glass by hail. Beginning business June 1, 1887, this association has grown to 1,020 members, distributed throughout the United States and Canada, who insure co-operatively 14,541,382 square feet of glass.

The amount of the policies in force is nearly one million dollars. During the year ended July 31, 1901, the losses amounted to $5,329, the expenses to $1,481. The general ratio of losses to amount of policies is about fifty cents per $100; the expenses, fifteen cents; total, sixty-five cents.

The receipts of the association during the last named year were $10,660, and the reserve fund is $8,544. The area of the glass broken by hail during the year was 79,392 square feet; from June 1, 1887, to August 1, 1901, the number of losses paid was 495, and the number of hail storms reported was 668, while during the last year the number of losses was eighty-seven and the number of reported hail storms eighty.

This association is a corporation with the usual officers, and the framework of its business organization may be briefly stated. A florist becomes a member when he takes out a policy of insurance and pays $2 for the first 2,000 square feet of glass and fifty cents for each additional thousand. Subsequently he may increase this insurance by making the following payments: fifty cents per thousand feet for each thousand feet (known as membership fee) and one assessment, similar to the one made at the beginning of membership, which is thus provided for: "Each member of the Florists' Hail Association of America shall pay to the treasurer, when he remits his membership fee, the sum of eight cents for every 100 square feet of single-thick glass and six cents for every 100 square feet of double-thick glass which he desires to insure."

In addition to this assessment provided for at the beginning of membership, there is an assessment which may be made at the option of the directors upon those who have been members of the association more than six months prior to date of levy, when the beneficiary fund shall have been reduced to 1 per cent of the fixed value of all risks. A reserve fund is provided for, constituted of the membership fees, which are invested at interest.

[1] Contributed by Mr. George K. Holmes, Washington, D. C.

The Florists' Hail Association of America is a wheel within a co-operative association of substantially similar geographical extent, with the addition of Mexico, the Hawaiian Islands and Australia—the Society of American Florists and Ornamental Horticulturists. This was organized in 1885 and was incorporated by Congress in 1901. The co-operation of its members has had the following results: The reduction of the postage rate on plants and seeds; the correction of errors in the naming of plants; the obtaining of a lighter express rate on plants and bulbs; the work of the legislative committee in safeguarding the interests of florists during "the panic of insect legislation;" the adoption of standard flower-pots; the interchange of a vast amount of information by means of essays and discussions; the organization of the hail insurance association. An annual exhibition is held for the display of plants, flowers and the latest and most approved appliances. "The opportunity is given to buy and to sell, to meet old friends and to make new ones. It is the forum from which issues the views of American floriculture in its best and broadest sense." A monthly publication is issued to members with large use to them in the dissemination of information and in affording business service. This society is co-operating with numerous other societies of florists and horticulturists, which still preserve their independent organizations, but have formally become affiliated.

IV. NOTES ON COLONIES AND COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

Porto Rico.—The Porto Rican Code Commission has completed its report and has presented the same to the legislative assembly. It is expected that most of the session of the assembly—which met in the early part of January to sit for sixty days—will be taken up with the discussion of the new laws. The commission has prepared a political code, a penal code, a code of criminal procedure and a civil code. ANNALS readers will probably be most interested in the political code, which includes the organization of the central and local governments, election, educational, revenue and highway laws. The civil code is based largely upon the existing laws. The penal code is practically new and is based upon the codes now used in the United States

The commission was composed of two Americans and one Porto Rican. Of the American members, Professor L. S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, and a member of the former United States Commission to Revise and Compile the Laws of Porto Rico, was the chairman; J. M. Keedy, Esq., is a practitioner at the bar of San Juan; Senor Juan Hernandez-Lopez, also a member of the former commission, is a prominent native jurist. The commission was fortunate in commanding the respect and enlisting the co-operation of the leaders of both political parties in the island. The peculiar difficulty in the work of the commission lay in the necessity for such an arrangement of Anglo-Saxon legal standards as should be suitable to the peculiar traditions and customs of an island which had continued for centuries under Spanish domination.

To mention but a few of the most striking instances of this discrepancy between Porto Rican and American ideas, the jury system and the *habeas corpus* writ were unknown in the island, while the spirit of political factionalism was so strong that considerable difficulty was experienced in establishing an electoral system which should be susceptible of impartial operation.

One of the important features of the administrative organization provided by the new code is a tendency to concentrate power and responsibility, wherever possible, in single officials rather than in boards. Attention has already been called, in a previous number of the ANNALS, to the adoption at the first session of the legislature of a law providing for an insular director of charities and of prisons. These features are retained in the new code and the same principle is applied to the regulation of sanitary affairs, resulting in the transfer of the

powers of the Board of Health to an insular director of sanitation. An insular veterinary surgeon has been proposed for the solution of the special problems of cattle raising, this industry being an important source of wealth in the island.

An additional feature of importance in the code is seen in the system of local government proposed. To quote from the commentary of Commissioner Rowe:

"Under the Spanish municipal law the island is divided into sixty-seven districts called 'municipios,' but which in no sense correspond to the American municipality. The combination of urban and rural districts prevented the urban centres from developing a distinctive life of their own, and compelled the rural districts to contribute towards the maintenance of an organization from which they derived little or no benefit. The taxes collected in the rural districts for local purposes have been used in the towns for distinctively urban services, and the complaint of the landowner that he has received no return for his local taxes has been universal. It is therefore in the interest of both the urban and rural districts that for purposes of local government a separation should be made. It is necessary, however, that the form of government be simple and economical, inasmuch as the resources of the municipalities are limited and their credit as yet undeveloped. In the proposed system of local government, the distinctively urban centres of the present 'municipios' are organized as cities and villages.

"The cities (San Juan, Ponce, Mayagüez and Arecibo) are organized in much the same way as the smaller municipalities in the United States. An elective mayor, a comparatively small elective council, and the necessary administrative officials. The mayor is made the executive head of the city government, and does not partake in the legislative work of the said council, except so far as his suspensive vote is concerned.

"The villages are divided into three classes according to population, with a small local council, of which the village president is the presiding officer. The services required by these towns will call for but a small number of administrative officials, and will enable the government to be carried on at comparatively small cost. As regards the rural districts it must be kept in mind that the most important services required by these districts, namely, the police service, is being performed by the insular government.

"The construction of roads has been, and will for some years to come be, in the main, an insular charge. The highway law (title XIII) provides for the construction of local highways through the formation of special highway districts, and in the chapter relating to

public health (title V, chapter X), the Insular Director of Sanitation is given power to group the rural barrios into cemetery districts, and to provide for the establishment of cemeteries in such districts. This provision will remove one of the most prolific causes of complaint at the present time, namely, the distance of the urban cemeteries from the rural barrios.

"Thus all the important local services are provided for without the necessity of an elaborate machinery of government, which entails a burden heavier than the rural districts are able to bear."

The title dealing with highways touches on one of the fundamental problems of Porto Rican development. The main roads have all been constructed or planned by the insular government; the Commission proposes that the local government be empowered to construct local roads in order to develop the secondary system of highways.

Germany.—Considerable attention has been aroused in recent years by the existence of modified forms of slavery in the German colonies. An ordinance looking to the gradual emancipation of house servants in German East Africa has recently been approved by the Imperial Chancellor. The ordinance provides that in the future no persons shall become enslaved either through voluntary sale of their persons, by authority of their parents, through debt, or as a punishment. All of these forms of slavery have existed up to the present time. Persons now in a condition of slavery are allowed to buy their freedom on payment of a sum to be fixed by the administrative authority of the district in which they are living. Upon payment of this sum a "Freibrief" or certificate of manumission is to be given them. Slaves are hereafter allowed two days in each week to work for themselves. In case of disputes as to the amount of time so allowed, the slave is permitted to appeal to the administrative authorities. Masters are required to support their servants in case of sickness or old age, and this obligation will not be avoided by freeing the slave after he has become unable to work. Slaves may only be transferred from one master to another with their consent, which must be given before an administrative authority. At each transfer such authority is required to examine carefully the legitimate character of the transaction and to ascertain if a legal relation of slavery actually exists. Members of the same family may not be separated from each other by any such transfer without their consent. Any serious neglect or injury on the part of a master results in the freedom of the servant. Upon hearing of any such injury or neglect the competent authority is required to investigate, even in case no complaint is made by either party, and should it be ascertained that the slave, by reason of the owner's failure to comply with the law, has a legal claim upon manumission the

public official is required to grant such manumission without any payment of damages to the owner.

The ordinance outlined above is deserving of commendation; it shows the desire of the German colonial authorities to abolish the evils which have heretofore existed in more than one German possession. The action is especially noteworthy on account of the well-known scarcity of labor, which has long been a serious drawback to the development of Germany's African colonies.

France.—With the first of the present year the budgetary reforms which were adopted by the French Parliament are introduced in the financial systems of the principal colonies. The most important feature of these reforms, and certainly the point of greatest interest to Americans, is the adoption of an independent budget for the West Indian and other colonies. Heretofore the French colonial system has been distinguished from those of other countries by the great dependence of the colonial finances upon the budget of the metropolis. The mother country has continually granted large subsidies or subventions, not only for military purposes but also for internal improvements and for the payment of what should be considered ordinary running expenses of the colony. In the future these subventions are to be discarded and the colonial expenses paid from the colonial receipts. Two powerful motives have led to this action; first, the growing conviction on the part of Frenchmen that the colonies should be allowed to manage their own finances with greater independence, and second, the heavy pressure upon the resources of the home country caused by military and other expenditures. The necessity for economy has long been apparent to the Colonial Ministry, and it is estimated that by reducing the colonial grants the equilibrium of the home budget can be re-established. It is hoped that this can be done without seriously delaying the work of internal improvements which France has been carrying on in her African possessions during recent years.

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IS TROPICAL COLONIZATION JUSTIFIABLE?

In a recent address before the American Historical Association, Mr. Charles Francis Adams said: "After three rounded centuries of British rule, the Hindus are in 1900 less capable of independent and ordered self-government than they were in the year 1600, when the East India Company was incorporated under a patent of Elizabeth. What is true of India is true of Egypt. Schools, roads, irrigation, law and order, and protection from attack, she has them all—

> 'But what avail the plow or sail
> Or land or life, if freedom fail.'

A formidable proposition, I state it without limitations, meaning to challenge contradiction, I submit that there is not an instance in all recorded history, from the earliest precedent to that now making, where a so-called inferior race or community has been elevated in its character, or made self-sustaining and self-governing, or even put on the way to that result, through a condition of dependency or tutelage."

We may fairly draw from the above passage and from its context one or two principles which appear to guide Mr. Adams in his consideration of colonial problems:

1. That self-government, in other words the absence of foreign dictation in all matters relating to the development

of a country and a people, is the great prime requisite for success.

2. That success for a nation means the achievement of the capacity for independent and ordered self-government.

3. That "schools, roads, irrigation, law and order," are admirable, not by virtue of their inherent excellence, but simply through the means by which they are attained.

If we subject these principles, and others contained in Mr. Adams's address, to a critical examination, we find that the arguments against the direction of the affairs of one people by another are precisely those which are advanced by anarchists against the regulation of an individual's actions within a state or society by other members of that state or society. "The absence of murder and pillage in a community," says the anarchist, "is no doubt to be desired. But if it is obtained by coercion, that is by a police force and a criminal code, it is of no avail, since the desirable condition does not rest on the development of the moral consciousness of the criminal, but on the forcible direction of his activities into other channels. To paraphrase Mr. Adams: 'A so-called inferior section of a community cannot be elevated in its character or made capable of ordered self-government through a condition of tutelage.'"

The reply may be made to this comparison that the larger interests of a community justify the restraint placed by a criminal code on the actions of some of its members, but that no such justification exists for interference in the actions of the members of foreign communities.

This view is a narrow one, based upon insufficient appreciation of the interdependence of the different peoples of the earth, and is a view for which no support can be adduced in the practice of nations from the earliest times. To go back no further than four centuries, we can see how such a view, if consistently acted upon by nations, would have interfered with the development of the world. The United States would to-day be governed by a few thousand Indians, the

Australian continent by a few hundreds of cannibals, India would still be torn by internal dissensions; there would be no Suez Canal; the Malay Peninsula, the Archipelago and the China Seas would still be closed to the world by the Malay and Chinese pirates; Central and South America, instead of struggling as it is to-day to become capable of ordered self-government under its various alleged republics, would still be lying, as it had done for thousands of years, idle and unprofitable under the dominion of a few tribes of wandering Caribs.

This would be very well if we could alter the whole conditions of human life, if we could say to the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Russia and all other nations: "Your population is now large enough for your territory; you must not increase any further, because if you do two things will happen: you will seek your food supply in foreign lands and your people will emigrate, and both these things will bring you into contact with people who, although they unprofitably occupy great tracts of the earth and live, for the most part, in a condition of savagery, must not be disturbed in their possession of the land they are, at once by their mere occupation and by their lack of ordered government, withholding from the general use of mankind." But there never has been a time in recorded history when this policy of no intercourse was possible. And if there is to be intercourse between the so-called inferior races and the superior races, only one of two things is possible, either the native government must change itself so as to meet the requirements of the new conditions, or some one else must effect the change. In almost every instance it has been found that commercial intercourse with an inferior race has meant the acquisition in the first place of small grants on which trading stations might be established; that this has inevitably led to friction between the newcomers and the natives; that as a matter of protection the original tract under foreign occupation has been enlarged, until the impos-

sibility of two forms of government existing side by side on the same territory has led to the overthrow of the native system.

It seems incredible that the history of the expansion of nations during the past three thousand years should have left us with no data on which a theory of expansion may be formulated. As a matter of fact, the lesson of history is singularly clear on the point of what will happen when a nation reaches a certain stage of growth, although it is silent as to the question whether such happenings accord with this or that theory of ethics. For three thousand years there has not been a single nation of any importance which has not had colonies. The degree of control exercised by the mother country has varied in different instances, but in every case the people of one country have gone to another country, have established themselves there, have taken over the administration of the territory in which they lived, and this without in any way considering whether the natives had the moral right to shut their country off from intercourse with the rest of the world or to insist on the acceptance by the newcomers of the native system of government. What are these nations which have colonized, these nations which, according to Mr. Adams's view, have all been mistaken in their sense of right and wrong? Phœnicia, Carthage, Rome, Greece, Amalfi, Pisa, Genoa, Florence, Venice, Portugal, Spain, Holland, France, Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Italy, the United States, China, Japan, Turkey, Denmark—limited monarchies, absolute monarchies, and republics. It would seem indeed that the whole civilized world had at all times been in the wrong on the question of colonial empire.

Further, if Mr. Adams's view that foreign domination, however beneficent in its operation, emasculates a people and renders them unable to achieve a condition of ordered self-government, then surely we may confidently seek for progress and good government in those countries which have

been least subjected to foreign dominion. In Europe the country which has been in the smallest degree subjected to foreign dominion is Russia, yet we can hardly hold up Russia as an example, either in regard to the form or methods of its government. In Asia the country which has been least affected by foreign control is China, yet we can scarcely accept China as our model of government. On the American continent the two governments which stand far ahead of all others are those of the United States and Canada, yet each is the result of the intrusion of methods foreign to the native inhabitants of those territories. In the Pacific there is probably no country which has been less subjected to foreign dominion than Southwestern Borneo, and it was here that a French scientific expedition was recently captured and eaten. As a matter of fact, in regard to those portions of the world with which colonization is chiefly concerned to-day, the tropics and the sub-tropics, the very reverse of Mr. Adams's proposition is true; the worst governed portions are those which have been least under foreign dominion, and the degree of good government in the others is in inverse proportion to the amount of influence exerted on the administration by the original inhabitants.

It may perhaps be said in support of Mr. Adams's view that the whole affair is a matter of time; that if we only wait long enough the Papuan, the Sioux, the Dyack and the Zulu will develop political institutions, even as those of the United States. And if it is answered that all these people had been thousands of years at it before ever a white man interfered with them, and had not up to that time succeeded in advancing a single step towards what we call ordered self-government, the reply may be offered that they merely need thousands of years more. This is an abstract and hypothetical question. Had the Zulu been left to himself, it is of course conceivable he might have advanced in civilization during the nineteenth century a hundred times as far as he had advanced when left to himself during the twenty cen-

turies that preceded it, or if he were now left to himself for a hundred years Zululand might yet become the seat of the world's highest learning and most perfect political institutions by the year 2000. The point of the matter is that all these so-called inferior races have had just as much time as the superior races in which to get into a state of ordered and civilized government, and that up to the time when the white man first went amongst them scarcely a step forward had been made anywhere; and that as the superior races now want these portions of the earth, so that they may draw their supplies from them and develop the resources which have been placed there by nature, we cannot wait upon the distant hope, a hope which is discounted by thousands of years of history, that the people of these regions will of their own accord establish such conditions of law and order as to make intercourse with them practicable for foreigners.

Another matter which should influence our attitude towards tropical colonization is the question of climate. There is a perfect readiness on all sides to accept the limitations placed on the progress of civilization by extreme cold, but the similar operation of extreme heat is a fact that people are most unwilling to admit. No one expects that a highly organized community will arise in Greenland or in Terra del Fuego; but that a tropical jungle may blossom forth into a mother of parliaments appears to be within the capacity of many peoples' faith

Yet if we study the history of civilization, we are at once confronted with the fact that a temperate climate has been the one great condition of progress, and that extreme heat as well as extreme cold has for more than a thousand years proved an insuperable barrier to advancement. What contributions have the tropics made to human progress during the past thousand years? Have they produced a single poet of the first rank, or a painter, or a musician, or an engineer, or a chemist, or a historian, or a statesman, or any man of the first eminence in any single art or science? Are

we indebted to them for a single important invention, or for any new discovery in any branch of inquiry? Have they, during the past ten centuries, contributed a single great idea to the sum of human knowledge? The answer to all these questions is in the negative.

Now, if we take the tropics and sub-tropics to include that portion of the earth's surface which lies between 30° N. and 30° S., we have a belt 3,600 miles wide running round the world and containing a very large proportion of the land surface of the earth and a great proportion of the world's population. We cannot be expected to believe that the entire dearth of progress for a thousand years amongst the millions of inhabitants of this vast territory (except in so far as it has been introduced from outside the belt) is due to mere accident. It must be due to some deep-seated cause acting through centuries. This law has been admirably stated by Buckle in his "Introduction to the History of Civilization in England." Buckle's argument, in condensed form, is that civilization in tropical countries depends, and has always depended, on the relation between nature and its own productiveness. But under such conditions the extent to which man can advance his general condition is very limited, since the relation between nature and its own productiveness is a fixed one; and under these circumstances man is dominated by his physical environment. In non-tropical countries, on the other hand, progress depends and always has depended on the relation between external nature and the activity and energy of man; and advancement in these regions has been in direct relation to the extent to which man has risen superior to his physical environment. The march of the centuries has shown, however, that this relation is by no means a fixed one, and that it is impossible to place any limit to the power of man to increase, from the resources of his own mind, his independence of physical conditions. The conclusion is obvious. The inferior peoples

are those whose race characteristics have been acquired during centuries of enforced submission to physical environment, centuries during which the active powers of the mind have become atrophied. The superior peoples are those whose slow and painful ascent of the ladder of progress has been accomplished by a gradual strengthening of man's intellectual faculties and a corresponding decrease in the tyrannical power of external nature. It has become the fashion in recent years to disparage Buckle, but, except in a few minor details, his theory in regard to the evolution of civilization remains unshaken.

Passing now to another view in regard to problems of tropical colonization, it is interesting to observe the peculiarly independent line of thought that has been adopted by a great many Americans as to the value of foreign experiences in the government of tropical dependencies.

When we reflect that the study of political economy and sociology is made up almost entirely of the examination and analysis of the available facts in relation to the condition and government of the various peoples of the world, it seems extraordinary that so many people of good education, in the United States, should reject utterly the idea that a study of the colonial methods of England, France and Holland would afford a valuable groundwork for the solution of the Philippine problem. Yet many statesmen, legislators, teachers, business men and others, are still of the opinion that the experience of England in the Malay states, of Holland in Java, and of France in Indo-China, is of no interest or value for the United States because none of the other peoples who had faced the problem of tropical administration were Americans. "This is a problem for which the American people will find an American solution," seems to be the firm belief of a large number of influential Americans.

Perhaps this very independence bespeaks ultimate success.

One cannot help feeling, however, that it will end in the final adoption of a policy not greatly dissimilar to that of other nations, and that in the meantime the frontal attack method will have wasted a great deal of time, a great deal of money, and many valuable lives.

Alleyne Ireland.

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THE CIVIL SERVICE IN OUR NEW DEPENDENCIES.

When it was determined that we were to keep Porto Rico and the Philippines, and exercise dominion over certain heterogeneous races and peoples quite unlike ourselves, we stood, in respect to the kind of government we would establish, at the parting of the ways. On the one side was the spoils system,—the system of exploitation which had led to the wreck of Spanish colonial government, a system whose roots we have not yet completely torn from our own soil; and on the other side the merit system,—a system of government for the benefit of the governed, not wholly unlike that which England had evolved for the administration of India out of sickening experiences in corruption, mismanagement and disaster. It was of the utmost importance that we should start right. Fortunately, we had in the executive chair a President who possessed a breadth of statesmanship adequate to the situation. Mr. McKinley determined that the spoils system should not invade these new possessions. As commander-in-chief of the army and navy he had practically autocratic power over our newly acquired territory; and, fortunately, when Congress came to pass its first law in respect to the Philippines, it left this power where it had already been wisely exercised. The appointments made by the President were not political, but personal selections, and the two Philippine Commissions were composed of men of whose good faith and patriotic purposes there could be no question. Indeed, the excellence of the administration of Mr. McKinley was shown more clearly in his appointments to the high offices in our dependencies than in any other way. The writer, upon one occasion, was asked by the late President, "Do you know a good man for Attorney-General for Porto Rico? I have been looking for one for a long time,

and have not yet been able to find him. If it were for a similar position here at home, I would have no trouble; I could find many persons who would be good enough. But for these new possessions—we must take better care of them than of ourselves." Animated by such considerations, the appointments made both in Porto Rico and the Philippines were of the very highest class.

The last report of the Secretary of War contains the following:

"In providing the personnel of the government which is thus gradually superseding military administration, the Department has proceeded upon the assumption that the honor and credit of the United States are so critically involved in creating a good government that the importance of securing the best men available should outweigh and practically exclude all other considerations. This principle of selection has been followed without deviation. No officer, high or low, has been appointed upon any one's request or upon any personal, social or political consideration."

It may well be doubted whether there can be found in the history of any other nation an example of the government of a dependent people undertaken in as disinterested a spirit.

The great difficulty generally arises in regard to the subordinate places, whose number is so great that it is impossible for the President or the head of the Department to exercise a personal choice. It was therefore determined by both the Philippine Commissions that the competitive system was necessary for the elimination of patronage and for securing the best service in the islands. The first Commission reported that this system ought to be established, and the second Commission established it. A civil service law was enacted by this Commission on September 19, 1900. In introducing the measure, President Taft said:

"The danger in any government, whether it be republican or monarchical, is that public office be used for private purposes. All countries have suffered from this evil, and those countries in which a thorough system of civil service is selected are the first to minimize that danger. . . . It is the hope of the Commission to make it

possible for one entering the lowest ranks to reach the highest upon a tenure based solely upon merit."

The Philippine civil service act is much more comprehensive than our own law. It is now nearly twenty years since our Federal law was enacted, and although very few statutes have so well met the constantly changing conditions of the times there were necessarily some shortcomings. The Philippine civil service act has filled up the gaps, and provided for as complete a system as is possible at the present time. A discussion of the differences between the two acts will be profitable.

I. In the first place the scope of the Philippine civil service act is far broader than that of our own law which does not apply to laborers, nor to persons who are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. With us the highest and the lowest places both remain outside of the purview of the law. There are fortunately other provisions in our Federal statutes which may enable us hereafter to establish a proper registration system for laborers, and rules may be adopted for filling some Presidential offices by competitive methods, but these provisions are not to be found in the civil service act itself.

The Philippine law, however, expressly provides "for the selection of laborers, skilled and unskilled, according to the priority of their applications, by such non-competitive examinations as may be practicable, and which need not relate to more than the capacity of the applicants to labor, their habits of industry and sobriety, and their honesty." Thus the entire labor force of the islands is brought within the classified service.

The higher offices, with very few exceptions, are also included, and vacancies are to be filled by promotion, thus giving the greatest incentive to those in the Philippine civil service for the efficient and faithful performance of their duties.

The place of department-assistant, as it is called, offers the readiest means of promotion. The examination for this

place is of a very high character, and quite severe. It is calculated to test the general education and intelligence of the candidate, as well as his capacity for the particular work which he is immediately required to perform. In this respect it differs from most of the examinations for places in the classified service in America. Two days of seven hours each are required for this examination. The subjects required include a thesis to be written on one of two given topics; the correction of a rough-draft manuscript; arithmetic, algebra, and plane geometry; the history, Constitution, government, and geography of the United States; commerce and industrial resources of the United States; general history and geography; territorial government and administration; and political economy. Besides the subjects required there are twenty optional subjects, for which additional credit is given. These include agriculture, bookkeeping, chemistry, botany, civil engineering, educational methods, finance, forestry, geology, general, international and Spanish law, the mining and land laws of the United States, the Spanish language, mineralogy, municipal administration, sanitary science, taxation, and the theory and practice of statistics. No competitor receives any credit for his optional subjects unless his rating in the regular examination is higher than 70 per cent. The credits received upon the optional subjects simply tend to increase his prospects of appointment to some particular place for which these optional subjects show his qualifications. If the needs of the service require it, requisition may be made for those standing highest on one or more of the optional subjects who have also passed the regular examination. For instance, if a vacancy should occur in the municipal government of Manila in a place requiring a knowledge of municipal administration, or in the Forestry Bureau, requiring a knowledge of forestry, a requisition would probably be made for eligibles who have shown the most proficiency in these subjects, and who have also passed the regular examination.

Those appointed from the department-assistant examination will be preferred in promotions to higher administrative offices, unless special technical qualifications are required. They have thus a fair opportunity to be advanced to the highest administrative positions.

The salaries for the places of department-assistant are not less than $1,200, and for some of the places, like that of financial agent, the salary is as high as $2,000.

II. In America competitive examinations are not generally required for promotion, and it is a serious defect of our present system that promotions are often made for reasons of personal favor or political influence,—a defect, however, for which it is hoped that at no distant day a remedy will be found. In this respect the Philippine act is more stringent than the Pendleton bill. In the Philippine service promotions must be made by competitive examinations, though the board may provide for an allowance of credit for previous experience and efficiency, to be estimated by the officer under whose direction the service has been rendered.

III. The Philippine law has another decided advantage over the American. When different positions in this country become classified, the men who are in these positions usually remain there, without any examination to test their qualifications to keep the places they hold. These persons have been originally appointed under the spoils system. They are usually strong partisans, their habits of thought are often greatly tinctured by the ideas of that system, and these ideas, carried into the classified service by those who become a part of it, necessarily infect the entire service to a certain degree.

But in the Philippine service the men who were originally appointed to office were appointed with little regard to politics, and in addition to this the Philippine act provides that the civil service board may examine the employees in the service to determine their fitness to *retain* their places. These examinations have been held; a number of inefficient

employees have been discharged, while others have vacated their positions rather than undergo the examination. The Philippine service, therefore, stands in a better condition, in respect to the personnel of those who now compose it, than the classified service of this country.

IV. The Philippine law is more stringent than ours in also requiring a thorough physical examination by a competent physician of every applicant in the United States, and the rejection of all who are physically disqualified for efficient service in the Philippines, and in also requiring an age limitation for those entering the lowest rank of the service, the maximum age being forty years, and the minimum eighteen. This avoids the difficulty which would result from admitting to the service men advanced in years, where the duties can be better performed by younger and more energetic persons. It is evident that a service protected by these limitations will undoubtedly be superior to one where they are not required. The only serious question is whether the limitation of forty years is strict enough. The service would be still better if none were admitted who were over thirty years of age. None are appointed to the British Indian service who are over twenty-three.

V. The United States Civil Service Commission is authorized by law to investigate abuses and to report concerning the condition of the service, but no power is given to administer oaths or to subpœna witnesses. Difficulty has sometimes been found in securing testimony under these conditions, and cases have been known where even officers of the Government have impudently refused to furnish or to allow their subordinates to furnish the Commission with information in regard to violations of the law. This evil has been partly remedied by a recent order of the President, directing that all officers and employees of the Government shall give information and testimony when required, and they can now be dismissed for failure to do this; but there is still no power to require the testimony of any person outside the service.

The Philippine law has remedied this defect by providing that the civil service board and its duly authorized examiners are empowered to administer oaths, and summon witnesses, and to require the production of official books and records.

VI. Another serious defect in our Federal statute is the absence of a provision stopping the pay of persons appointed or retained in violation of the law. This evil has been remedied in part by a recent rule of the President, which provides that whenever the Commission finds that any person is holding a position in violation of the law, it shall, after notice and opportunity for explanation, certify the fact to the head of the department, and then if the person be not dismissed within thirty days, to the disbursing or auditing officers, and thereafter such officers shall not pay any salary which may accrue after the certificate has been received by them. This rule may be enforced by the dismissal from office of any auditing or disbursing officer who violates it.

But the Philippine act provides a much more effective remedy, since it directs that when the civil service board shall find that any person holds office in violation of the law it shall certify the fact to the disbursing and auditing officers, and, if they afterwards pay or permit to be paid any salary or wages, the payment shall be illegal, the disbursing officer shall not receive credit for it, and the auditing officer shall be liable on his official bond.

VII. The Philippine act is more effective than ours in regard to political contributions. Our Federal statute provides that no officer or employee shall solicit or collect from or pay to any other officer or employee any money for political purposes, nor shall any such solicitations be made in a Federal building; but the Philippine act goes further, and provides that *any person* soliciting political contributions from public officers or employees shall also be subject to an appropriate penalty. It is found in actual practice that political contributions are generally solicited by persons not

in the Federal service, for the purpose of evading the law, the employee who pays the money fully believing, however, that the demand is supported by his official superior. The Philippine act effectually prevents such abuses.

VIII. The Philippine act differs essentially from the American in regard to preferences in appointments. Our Federal law gives an absolute preference to persons who have been discharged from the military or naval service for disability incurred in the line of duty. If a veteran of this class has passed with a bare average of 65 per cent, he is preferred for certification over all others, no matter how high they may stand upon the list. According to the Philippine act the only preference allowed (I quote the explanation of it given by the board), "is in cases where the names of natives of the islands and honorably discharged soldiers and sailors appear on certification. It is provided that when their names are certified, and other things are equal, preference shall first be allowed to natives of the islands, and then to honorably discharged soldiers, sailors and marines of the United States. None of these, however, can be certified out of the order of their relative standing in the examination, and no preference can be shown by an appointing officer in their selection until their names appear on certification. The act, therefore, while giving preference to natives and soldiers, still safeguards the service by requiring that they shall pass in their examinations sufficiently high to have their names certified for appointment. This insures a high standard of efficiency in the service, while it allows a fair preference in selecting natives or soldiers, sailors or marines."

IX. A supplemental act passed by the Philippine Commission directs the civil service board to report a plan for the readjustment of salaries in proportion to the labor and skill required and responsibility imposed, with a view to the reclassification of the service.

The need of the reclassification of the Federal service is very great,—far greater, it is believed, than the need of any

reclassification in the Philippine service, and it would be of immense value to the country if a similar law could be enacted by Congress.

"When the first examinations were announced in the Philippines" (I quote the language of Mr. F. M. Kiggins, formerly chairman of the Philippine civil service board, to whom I am under obligations for aid in the preparation of this article), "the Americans filed their applications for examination without delay, but the Filipinos held back until the object of the civil service act and rules was explained to them. When they learned that the rules were for the good of the service, and to secure the most competent employees, they hesitated no longer, and thus far over eleven hundred of them have been examined for various positions in the service. While a greater per cent of them have failed than of Americans, still for the lower clerical and other positions ample registers of Filipinos have been established. On account of their limited education and lack of familiarity with American methods of transacting business, they have necessarily been appointed, as a rule, to minor positions, but it is stated by the civil service board that nearly all of those who have been appointed are proving satisfactory. It is also interesting to note, in view of the fears that have been entertained by some that the application of civil service rules to the Philippines would result in confining appointments there to Americans, that the majority of those who have so far been appointed are Filipinos. The examinations are conducted in both the English and the Spanish languages, and where a Filipino can be utilized he is selected in preference to an American."

Every extension of the operations of civil government in the Philippines has carried with it the application of the civil service law and rules. One of the most recent extensions was to the municipal service of Manila, when the city charter was adopted on July 30 last. In March of this year the entire provincial service outside of Manila came under

the provisions of the civil service act, and it is understood that action has been taken looking to the classification of teachers throughout the islands at an early date. Many Filipinos in the public service are applying themselves to the study of English, while public schools are being organized all over the islands, with qualified teachers sent from the United States, who are also teaching the English language. Thus the islanders are not only favored by civil service law, but also by a liberal system of education so as to qualify them for governing themselves.

The United States Civil Service Commission has been directed to co-operate with the Philippine civil service board in supplying the latter with eligibles for such positions as Americans are required to fill, especially positions in which professional, technical or scientific qualifications are needed. Clerks with special qualifications, bookkeepers, compositors, pressmen, electrotypers, experts for the Insular Bureau of Agriculture, foresters, bookbinders, examiners, photographers, engineers, lumbermen, etc., have been sent to the islands by selection from the examinations made by the Federal Commission or by transfer from the Federal civil service.

Shortly after our acquisition of these islands there was much discussion as to the best methods of securing trained men to administer the government there. It was suggested that a suitable training school, like Haileybury College, established by England for the Indian service, would be the best method. It would have required some time for the development of such a system, and the evils of political patronage would not have been eliminated. The Philippine Commission, it is believed, took a far better course in determining that places in the islands should be filled by open competitive examination, free to all, in which the inhabitants of the islands should have a preference when other qualifications were equal. It is hard to see how our government of the Philippines could be started upon its path in any

better way than by the excellent provisions established by the Philippine Commission.

The reflex action upon our Government at home of the establishment of a complete merit system in the Philippine Islands can hardly fail to be beneficial. The example of good methods successfully administered, even in a possession as distant as the Philippines, is sure to beget good results when contrasted with the inefficiency and corruption that flow from the remnants of the spoils system here at home. It will be remembered that England first tried competitive methods in her Indian possessions before she established the civil service system at home, and it was the successful working of this system in India which led to its adoption in England. It may not be improper to repeat here the opinion expressed on a former occasion, that inasmuch as the beginnings of this reform came from Calcutta to London, it is not impossible nor unreasonable to expect that its perfect consummation may come from Manila to Washington.

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POLITICAL PARTIES IN PORTO RICO.

It has long been one of the accepted principles of political science that the growth of political parties reflects the constantly changing relations of class and industrial interests. In England, for instance, we trace the growth of the liberal party to the rise of the middle-classes, consequent upon the industrial development of the early decades of the nineteenth century; in Prussia the strength of the conservative party is directly traceable to the power of the landed proprietors of the northern provinces. In a word; the relation between the industrial and social development of a people and the principles of its political parties, seems so direct as to be almost self-evident. The formulation of political doctrines in party platforms becomes, therefore, the concrete expression of economic interests and political ideals.

While this organic relation can readily be established under normal conditions, it is subject to important limitations when normal development is broken. The old lines of demarcation then disappear; new interests, new aspirations and new ideals break down party divisions. The sudden disappearance of traditional antagonisms takes from existing parties much of their reason for existence, and in the confusion and uncertainty which results the new political parties, rising from the ruins of the old, fail to give accurate expression to class and sectional demands.

It would be difficult to find a more striking illustration of these principles than is offered by the history of political parties in Porto Rico. The sudden break with Spanish traditions, together with the new political and industrial opportunities afforded under American rule, served to undermine the accepted and unquestioned standards of the people, and to obscure, for a time at least, the real community of interests of the more progressive elements. It is not surprising,

therefore, that the political combinations effected during the first years of American rule give evidence of incongruities in their make-up and inconsistencies in their attitude towards great public questions, which are indicative of the fact that the process of adjustment to the new conditions has but begun.

In order to understand the rise of the political parties which have been formed under American rule, it is necessary to picture the situation during the latter years of Spanish domination. The Spanish government consistently pursued the policy of discouraging political activity in the native population. In fact, all forms of association and organization were regarded with suspicion because of the fear of secret political agitation. In some respects, this has been one of the greatest misfortunes of the Porto Rican people, for it prevented the free development of that spirit of association and co-operation which is so necessary to a healthful political life. The summary punishment inflicted upon the few who dared incur the displeasure of the authorities served effectively to check any open manifestations of disaffection. The Spanish government could, furthermore, count upon the unquestioned support of the native Spaniards, resident in the Island. The fact that the bulk of the trade and commerce was in their hands, and that they had secured a hold upon the native planters through the mortgaging of plantations, made the task of suppressing any tendencies towards political organization comparatively simple.

The extreme administrative centralization of the Spanish system also contributed towards this end. Little opportunity was given to the people of the Island, even in their local governments, to participate in the management of their affairs. The mayors of the "municipios," or towns, were in fact, if not in law, appointed by the central government. The local councils were subservient to its authority, and even after the system of elective councils had been intro-

duced, the elections were so conducted as to assure the supremacy of the agents of the government.

But in spite of all these precautions, and, in fact, largely because of them, a number of secret societies were organized, ostensibly for social purposes, but in reality with political ends. Owing to the vigilance of the government, it was impossible for these societies to acquire great power, but they served, nevertheless, to keep alive the spirit of discontent, as well as to strengthen the desire for greater autonomy in local affairs.

The ease with which Porto Rico was governed stands in marked contrast with conditions in Cuba, where affairs were rapidly going from bad to worse. From 1850 on, revolution followed revolution almost without interval, gaining in strength as the repressive measures became more severe. The futility of attempting to govern the island without reference to local opinion was gradually forcing itself upon the political leaders in Spain. The disturbed condition of Cuba made it seem all the more desirable to keep Porto Rico free from disaffection, and the extreme measures used to repress the Cuban uprising served to strengthen the disposition to meet the demands of the Porto Rican people in a spirit of conciliation. Although the desire for independence never acquired the dignity of a great popular movement, the movement for local autonomy gave evidence of considerable strength. The changed attitude of the home government was first shown in the reforms instituted in 1897 by Canovas del Castillo, which were intended to give greater powers of local self-government to the towns. The Spanish liberal party, under the leadership of Sagasta, fearing that this concession might draw from them the support of the Porto Rican liberals and autonomists, called a conference to which a delegation from Porto Rico was invited. At this conference the autonomic system, instituted in Porto Rico in 1897 was agreed upon, in return for which the native autonomist party agreed to give its support to the Liberal

party in Spain. The period of harmonious co-operation which seemed thus inaugurated was to be of but short duration. The return of the Porto Rican delegation from Madrid marks the beginning of a split within the native element, which is the turning point in the development of political parties in the island.

The agreement with the Liberal party in Spain was looked upon with considerable suspicion, especially by the poorer classes. There existed in the more radical element of the native population the feeling that the compact with the Spanish Ministry was a compact with tyranny, and that the work of the Porto Rican delegates was a betrayal of the interests of the island. This radical sentiment did not, however, take the form of definite political organization. In fact, events moved so rapidly that but little time was given for opinion to crystallize.

The autonomic government went into operaton on the eleventh of February, 1898. It provided for a governor-general, who was appointed by the Spanish Crown, and who was primarily, commander-in-chief of the army and navy. His civil power was subject to the direction and control of an insular cabinet, which included a president and secretary of the treasury, a secretary of government and justice, a secretary of education, a secretary of public works and a secretary of agriculture. The legislative authority was vested in a representative assembly, which was given control over the local budget and other powers of legislation in local matters, subject to the supervision of the central government at Madrid. Local government was organized on a most liberal plan, with universal suffrage for males over twenty-five years of age.

During the period immediately preceding the installation of the new government, party lines became more clearly defined. The distinctive Spanish party was in the field with a well-developed organization and commanding a large share of the available patronage. The Opportunists

ranked second in importance, and represented the followers of the delegation that had entered into the agreement with Sagasta. They were, in a sense, "opportunist-autonomists" who accepted the concessions of the Spanish Government as the best obtainable under the circumstances. The more extreme autonomists, who were known as the "Pure Autonomists," were not satisfied with the Sagasta reforms and demanded a more complete autonomic system. What was known as the Liberal party corresponded very closely to the Opportunist, except that in the former the native element was predominant, whereas amongst the Opportunists there was a considerable representation of the Spanish population.

The new government was organized with representatives of the autonomist, opportunist and liberal parties, but dissensions soon arose in the insular cabinet owing to charges of corrupt practices at the first elections under the new system, and, as a result, the autonomists retired, leaving the Sagasta Liberals in control. At the head of this new government, and occupying the position of president of the council, was Luis Muñoz-Rivera, who afterwards became leader of the Federal party.

It was with this government in operation, and this party in power, that the American military commanders had to deal in October, 1898. The Spanish autonomic system was not formally abolished until February, 1899. General Henry then ordered that the Council of Secretaries be discontinued and that four new secretaryships be established, a secretary of state, of the treasury, of justice and of the interior. Three of these positions were given to Sagasta liberals and one to a member of the autonomist party.

The first test of strength as between these parties came with the municipal elections of November, 1899. The American military government, in its endeavor to bring the population into closer contact with public affairs, determined to make the first test of the political capacity of the people

in the election of local officers. It was in the preparation for these elections that the new parties, which have been struggling for supremacy since the change of sovereignty, received definite form. In this reorganization the old Spanish party was completely eliminated, as its members were excluded from participation in public affairs by the fact of nationality. The Autonomist party, having lost its reason for existence, was dissolved and reorganized as the Republican party. In a broad, general way it may be said that there is a lineal relationship between the autonomist and the republican parties, traceable to the fact that both appealed to the more radical element in the native population. The tie is not so close as might seem at first glance; the Republican party having been organized with a view to bringing to its support the elements hitherto neglected; the poorer whites and negroes. The purpose which the leaders have consistently followed is to make it the popular party of the island, and in this way they have achieved conspicuous success.

The Liberal party was also reorganized, and under the name "Federal Party" attracted the larger property-holding interests and merchants. To it belong the more conservative elements of the Porto Rican population. Its greatest weakness, however, lies in the bourbon tendencies of its members. Their horror of negro domination, coupled with a fear of the results of a further extension of the suffrage to the poorer whites, has largely determined their attitude. They welcome American rule, but look with considerable misgiving upon the probable effects of American democratic ideas on the institutions of the island.

Between the platforms of the two parties there is no marked difference. They vie with each other in the expression of attachment to American principles and American institutions, they both advocate a territorial form of government for Porto Rico, a reorganization of the system of taxation, and a system of currency identical with that of the United States. One difference of considerable significance,

however, is the fact that the Federal party does not clearly express itself on the suffrage question, whereas the Republican party does not hesitate to define its position. One of the prominent planks of the Republican platform reads as follows: "We affirm our devotion to the national constitution and the autonomy reserved to our country thereunder; to the personal rights and liberties of all the citizens of our country, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, to cast one free ballot in public elections and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority."

The municipal elections of November, 1899, were held under the supervision of the military authorities and resulted in the victory of the Federals. There were indications, however, of the growing strength of the more popular Republican party. The large majority secured by the Federals blinded the leaders to the necessity of unremitting activity in maintaining and extending the party organization. The Republican leaders, some of whom had been educated in the United States, were fully aware of the value of thorough organization, and during the period between November, 1899, and the first elections under civil government in November, 1900, they were at work strengthening their position in every part of the island. The leaders were impressing upon the people that the dominance of the Federals meant a continuation of Spanish traditions; that its members gave no thought to the interests of the mass of the population, and that thoroughly democratic rule could not prevail in Porto Rico until the Republican party came into power.

This period of political agitation proved to be too severe a strain on the system of secretaryships instituted by General

Henry. Internal dissensions impaired and even threatened to destroy its usefulness, and led the military governor to abolish the system and substitute therefor a series of boards. This took from the Liberal, or as it was now known, the Federal party, one of the main sources of strength:—its power with the insular government at San Juan. It meant a definite break of the liberal leaders with the military government. Their wounded pride at being thus summarily thrust from power soon found expression in newspaper attacks on the military commanders and in criticism of American rule. As the expressions of dissatisfaction grew more and more violent, it became clear that the Federals were gradually placing themselves in a position which might readily be construed as one of opposition to American institutions. This they were anxious to avoid, and, therefore, directed their energies to securing the establishment of civil rule, hoping thereby to regain their power.

It is but natural that the break of the Federal party with the military government influenced their attitude towards the civil *régime* established under the Foraker Act. The leaders were unable to approach the new government in that spirit of co-operation which the best interests of the party demanded. In fact, they showed an unwillingness to co-operate with the American officials unless assured of a large share of the available offices. While this was the attitude of the leaders, it did not represent the views of the rank and file of the party.

The Republican leaders, on the other hand, brought to the new government a free and open acceptance of everything distinctly American, and a readiness to aid the American officials in the great work of civic organization. The desire on the part of Governor Allen and his associates to remain aloof from party conflicts, was construed by the Federal leaders as an unwillingness to give them proper recognition. This led to a further straining of relations, which finally resulted in open rupture. The events

leading up to this break are of special interest, as they illustrate with great clearness the attitude of the party towards the Government.

Under section twenty-seven of the Foraker Act, the Executive Council is made the upper house of the local legislative assembly, and is also given certain executive and advisory powers. It is composed of eleven members; six heads of executive departments: the Secretary, Treasurer, Auditor, Attorney-General, Commissioner of Education and the Commissioner of the Interior; together with five other members appointed by the President. Of these eleven, at least five must be natives, and the policy adopted by President McKinley was to appoint Americans to the headship of the six executive departments, and to select the five remaining members from among the natives. Of these five, two were appointed from the Republican party, two from the Federal, and the fifth, an independent.

The dissatisfaction of the Federal leaders, growing out of the gradual decline of their power and influence, reached its climax when the Executive Council settled down to the work of districting the island for the elections of November, 1900. Article twenty-eight of the Foraker Act requires that, for the purpose of electing delegates to the lower house of the legislative assembly, the island be divided into seven districts from each of which five delegates are to be chosen. The task of determining the boundaries of the electoral divisions was assigned to the Council. In order to avoid any possible criticism of the attitude of the American members and at the same time impress upon the native members the full responsibilities of the situation, the five Porto Rican members were appoineed a committee to draw up a plan for the districting of the island. It was soon apparent that each party would have its own geographical plan. The final acceptance of a plan prepared by the independent member led to the first definite break of the Federal party with the administration. The charge was made that the

island had been "gerrymandered" in order to secure a Republican majority and Muñoz-Rivera immediately ordered the Federals to withdraw from the elections.

The campaign period was marked by bitter denunciations of the administration in the Federal newspapers, which at times degenerated into personal attacks upon the Governor, and even upon the President of the United States. The result of the election was a lower house unanimously Republican. The order of the Federal leaders to their followers to withdraw from the election was so generally followed that the Federal party cast but 148 out of a total of 58,515 votes. The total registration was 123,140.

Although at the time, this withdrawal of some of the best elements of the population from political life seemed unfortunate, its effect was quite different from what was anticipated by the Federal leaders. They had hoped that so drastic a measure would lead the Administration to make overtures with a view to restoring harmony. It did not occur to them that the position thus taken placed them at the mercy of the Republican party. Governor Allen and his associates took the view that the Federal party, in withdrawing from public affairs, was evading a great public duty and was, therefore, to be treated as politically non-existent. The Government at Washington looked upon this childish display of party wrath as an indication of the inability of the native population to manage its own affairs. From every point of view, therefore, the action of the Federals worked great injury to the party.

Upon the withdrawal of the Federal members from the Executive Council, President McKinley promptly appointed two Republicans. Thus, neither house of the legislative assembly contained an element opposed to the administration. While under ordinary circumstances this might have been a serious matter, it proved a real advantage during the first and second sessions of the legislative assembly. The work of bringing the institutions of the

island into closer harmony with the American system was one which necessarily fell to the American members of the administration. The organizing power had to come from them and it was necessary for the successful issue of this work that they should receive the unqualified support of a party whose faith in American institutions was born of a deep admiration of our principles of government. The presence of an opposition party would have led to long and, perhaps, bitter wranglings, which would certainly have delayed much-needed legislation. Incidentally, the Federal party was taught a lesson which it is not apt soon to forget, viz.: that every political right carries with it a corresponding obligation, and that the one cannot be enjoyed without a willingness to meet the requirements of the other.

It must be conceded, however, that the situation during the last year and a half has been abnormal, and now that the most important steps in the legal and administrative reorganization of the island have been taken, it is a matter of considerable importance that the parties resume their normal political status. The ignoring of the Federals by the administration has taught them a lesson which has been extremely salutary and there is every indication of a strong desire to return to active participation in political life. With this return, however, there is likely to be some shifting of party lines. The lack of any opposition to the Republicans in the House of Delegates during the last two sessions has led to dissensions within the party and may give rise to a new combination of political forces. There is a possibility that the more conservative wing of the Republicans will join with the best elements of the Federals in the formation of a new party which will support the American members of the administration in their efforts to bring the people to a higher level of political training. It is in such a new adjustment of party lines that the best interests of Porto Rico will be subserved.

L. S. ROWE.

San Juan, Porto Rico.

APPENDIX.

PLATFORMS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF PORTO RICO.

PLATFORM OF THE FEDERAL PARTY OF PORTO RICO.

To the People:

1. The members of the Puerto Rican[1] Federal party, believing that the time has come for the reorganization of their party with a name that may embrace their ideas, and a platform that may give them a definite and concrete form, have decided to incorporate themselves in a political party that will be called the Federal Party, in order to cooperate in the good administration of the country.

2. The Federal party declares that it accepts and congratulates itself upon the annexation of the island to the United States, believing that Puerto Rico will be a prosperous and happy land under the protection of the American flag and institutions.

3. The principles of the Federal party are condensed in the following formula: To influence in a direct and efficacious way the development of the interests of the island through an honest and intelligent administration, and a firm and decided tendency towards the absolute assimilation of the island with the United States, both in laws and in form of government.

4. The Federal party asks for Puerto Rico that it be made a territory of the Union, with all the privileges of a state except the right to send senators and representatives to Congress, to which the island could send, like any other territory, a delegate with voice but without a vote.

5. The Federal party hopes that Puerto Rico in the future will be made a state without any restriction, like any other state in the Union.

[1] At the time of the adoption of this platform, Congress had not as yet changed the name of the island to "*Porto Rico*."

6. The Federal party will work to maintain the complete autonomy of the municipalities, so that the ayuntamientos may resolve all their local affairs, such as municipal accounts, budgets, public instruction, police, public health, charity, public works, etc., without the intervention of the central authority.

7. The Federal party will also work to maintain the rights of individuals, and will advocate the most ample system of suffrage, without opposing, however, any limitations that may be thought prudent by the United States, but representing always their desire that all resident citizens of the island be permitted to vote.

8. The Federal party understands the necessity of abolishing all customs duties between Puerto Rico and the rest of the Union, and will advocate the establishment of free trade and a uniform currency, the American dollar to be made the legal-tender standard with the least possible loss to the insular currency.

9. The Federal party realizes also that the development of the country requires that franchises be given to banking institutions with the greatest possible urgency; that the insular industries be effectively protected; that an impulse be given without delay to public works; and that direct imposts for the general expenses of the territory be gradually suppressed.

10. The Federal party has at heart the interests of the laborers and farmers; it watches with interest their progress in public life; it works to harmonize the interest of capital and labor, and will persist in giving a place in elective bodies to virtuous and intelligent men, independently of race and occupation.

11. The Federal party will leave the creation and maintenance of schools to the municipalities, committing the primary tuition in all its various degrees to the representatives of the people, subject to the general plan that may be adopted by the legislature of the territory.

12. Respecting the higher instruction, both university and professional, the Federal party will propose the installation of all necessary centres to arrive at a good standard in arts and sciences, giving special attention to those that are of practical application; and will incessantly advocate the establishment of a university.

13. The Federal party will keep apart from obsolete methods, and will institute colleges where women may receive serious instruction that may make it possible for them to practice the different professions to which they already dedicate themselves in more advanced countries.

14. In general we believe that our legislation ought to tend to an identification of methods of the American and Puerto Rican schools; this end may be reached by a gradual and scientific adaptation.

15. In reference to the organization of courts, the Federal party believes in the advisability of electing judicial officers by popular suffrage, by the vote of the legislature, or of appointing them by competitive examinations, according to the nature of their duties, independently of any political interest, thus placing the judges in a position of wholesome independence.

16. The Federal party places among its most important principles the establishment of trial by jury.

17. The Federal party proposes to undertake the reform of our civil, penal, and administrative legislation, upholding the moral and material interests of our society, but with decided democratic tendency.

18. The Federal party, finally, has faith in the traditions and characteristics of the American people, and has also much confidence in the power of the people of this island to make Puerto Rico, under the United States flag, a land of wealth and culture.

SAN JUAN, P. R., October 1, 1898.

PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF PORTO RICO, 1899.

To the People:

The old political parties that struggled during the Spanish domination have disappeared.

It is urgent now to start a new party, with new ideas, that all the residents of the country who wish, may unite in the development of our island under the protection and principles of the American flag.

Our principles in brief are as follows:

Definite and sincere annexation to the United States.

An organized territory for Puerto Rico, as the way to become in time a state of the Federal Union.

We are convinced that it would not be for the benefit of our country to be independent on account of its small area and on account of the bad political education we have received.

We do not feel satisfied with the false advantages of an Antilles confederation, as it is true that the old Spanish Antilles have the same origin; the language, history and traditions are the same. Cuba is not yet organized. We could not find any assistance towards perfection in Santo Domingo, as it is rapidly retrograding under her form of government.

Puerto Rico could not find in its surroundings any examples for self-government or of its local affairs, hence we seek the guarantees of a powerful and well-organized nation that promises us the free exercise of liberties.

Puerto Rico, to-day a territory and later a state of the Union, will realize the most perfect idea of the Puerto Rican people.

When we have effective local government and direct intercourse with the states of the Union in national and other affairs, with the good influence which such a union would bring to our island, it will be the means of guiding us to the highest culture in human destinies.

The time has come when we must advance American principles and customs. With due care, knowing the needs of our people, we have arranged a platform for the "Puerto Rican Republican Party," which we submit to the consideration of our people, trusting and hoping that every good and patriotic citizen will join us and support our just cause.

A convention will soon be called to discuss and decide upon a programme and consider in detail the principles stated in our platform, which are as follows:

Platform.

It is the highest duty of every citizen to uphold the laws of the land and the integrity of his country.

That we pledge ourselves as men, animated by a common cause, aiming at a common object, to do all in our power to improve our government.

We endorse and commend the able, patriotic, and true American spirit manifested by Hon. William McKinley, President of the United States, in releasing us from the misrule of Spain, and we pledge our faithfulness to adhere to the new principles of our new country, and have for our aim harmony, unity and good government, relying with confidence upon the hope of a speedy settlement of our national affairs.

Name.

1. The name of our party shall be the Republican party of Puerto Rico.

American Flag.

2. We declare our sincere loyalty to the American flag and American ideas, and hereby pledge ourselves to strive to become worthy of the great nation of which we now are a part.

Annexation.

3. We hail with pride our annexation to the United States.

Government.

4. We believe that the people of Porto Rico could be trusted with the civil government of the island, but as that authority only emanates from Congress of the United States, it is but our duty to wait their action. While under military government awaiting action by Congress, we desire that all civil offices should be filled by men capable, honest and of unquestioned loyalty to the Government of the United States, and disposed to act singly for the best interest of this island and our common country, without distinction, thereby affording us an opportunity to demonstrate our fitness for self-government, with all the burdens and responsibilities which it entails, and which will hasten the day when our island will have a place among the states of the Union.

Free Suffrage.

5. We affirm our devotion to the national Constitution and the autonomy reserved to our country thereunder; to the personal rights and liberties of all the citizens of our country, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted.

We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority.

Freedom.

6. The reliance of free popular government and the maintenace of freedom among all men is upon the intelligence and integrity of the people. We therefore declare our devotion to liberty of thought and freedom of speech and of the press, and approve these agencies, which con-

tribute to this end. We oppose any union of Church and State.

Labor.

7. We declare our hostility to the introduction into this island of foreign contract labor.

Education.

8. In this new acquisition to the United States, in order to promote education throughout the island, we favor the establishment of free public and non-sectarian schools, sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common-school education. We believe that the English language, soon to be the official language, should be taught in all our schools, thus laying the foundation fitting our island for a place as a free state of the Union.

Taxation.

9. That the systems of taxation under which revenues are derived are vicious and insufficient, and it is necessary for the equalization of the burden of taxation that the law regulating the same be changed at once to American principles of taxation suitable to the conditions of Puerto Rico.

Commerce.

10. We believe, as we are under the direct protection of the United States and a part of that great nation, that commerce should be free between the Island of Puerto Rico and the United States, thereby giving us the same rights and privileges of any state or territory of the Union.

Money.

11. In order to divert the financial panic which now threatens us, and in order that the tiller of the soil and the tradesman of the land may be justly compensated for their

toils and labors, we declare ourselves in favor of the exchange of the provincial money of the Island of Puerto Rico for the money of the United States. As it is right and proper that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the government be as good as any other, and that the exchange take place immediately with free commerce between Puerto Rico and the United States.

Agriculture.

12. Puerto Rico is an agricultural country, and upon that portion of the island falls the greatest burden of taxation under the present system.

The extremely oppressive taxation, the high tariff on agricultural implements, and the excessive customs duties on the products of the soil, should be so regulated as to furnish relief to the agriculturist, who cannot now meet his daily obligations.

Judiciary.

13. We are in favor of establishing the American system of courts, which guarantees to every man justice and right, and a trial freely without sale, fully without any denial, and speedily without delay according to the law of the land.

14. We congratulate ourselves and our country on being under the protection of the American flag, the recognized emblem of liberty, and will lend every effort to advance civilization, to teach loyalty, to love American institutions, and honor Washington, Lincoln and McKinley, whose names are household words throughout the land.

OUR TRADE WITH CUBA AND THE PHILIPPINES

Cuba.—Whether great manufacturing plants will be established in tropical countries, and will afterwards thrive, is a question for the consideration of the economist, the exploiter and the capitalist. So far as Cuba is concerned, with the exception of its plants for the conversion of cane into raw sugar, of leaf tobacco into cigars, etc., a well-equipped cordage factory at Havana, and some minor concerns engaged in the manufacture of cement, pottery, beer, liquors, chocolate, vermicelli, shoes, ice, perfumery, etc., it is virtually without manufacturing establishments, unless those used in the reduction of iron ore are included under the definition. For a long time to come Cuba must depend upon other countries for its supplies of cotton, silk and woolen fabrics, for machinery, manufactures of iron and steel and other metals, leather and its products, books, paper, etc.

From the proximity of the United States, its natural advantages, and its wonderful facilities for manufacturing industries, it seems natural that our country should enjoy all this trade, particularly if goods adapted to the Cuban market are furnished.

Of corn and wheat flour the United States furnished more than 99 per cent during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1901. The demand is increasing and is likely to continue to do so under normal conditions. There has been a great falling off during 1901 as compared with 1900 in the importation of distilled and fermented liquors, owing largely to the establishment of distilleries of considerable capacity in the island. More than two and a half million dollars' worth of these goods were imported in 1901, of which nearly two million came from Spain, and consisted principally of wines. The United States is securing only a small portion.

Cotton goods, woolen goods, vegetable fibres and their manufactures, silk, oils, grease and paraffine, chemicals, dyes, animals and animal products, including leather and its manufactures, were all imported in quantities during the fiscal year 1901; but of these very little was purchased from the United States.

	Total Imports.	From United States.
Cotton goods	$6,000,000	$500,000
Woolen goods	700,000	22,000
Vegetable fibres and their manufactures	2,000,000	171,000
Silks	526,000	24,000
Oils, grease and paraffine	2,600,000	713,000
Chemicals and dyes	1,053,000	422,000
Animals and animal products	8,476,000	2,000,000
Leather and its manufactures	1,850,000	505,000
Total	$23,205,000	$4,357,000

The more favorable features of our export trade with Cuba may be seen in the line of dairy products, meats, fish, machinery, implements, vehicles and manufactures of iron and steel. In machinery, in 1901, the United States gained at the expense of other countries, while in the general manufactures of iron and steel the United States shipments increased 189 per cent. In earthenware, china and glassware we supplied about one-third of the Cuban imports.

Since Cuba imports almost everything which she consumes, there is considerable inducement for nearly all branches of American industry and agriculture to secure a greater market in the island. With the increase of prosperity in Cuba, and the constantly growing knowledge among our merchants of the character of goods required, this field should prove of material benefit in increasing the trade of the United States.

In regard to the exports of Cuba, we find that sugar and tobacco, in nearly even quantities, constituted over 90 per cent of the Cuban exports in 1901. The exportation of sugar

showed an increase of about 51 per cent over 1900, and tobacco an increase of 33 per cent over that year. Substantially all of the sugar and about 46 per cent of the tobacco were taken by this country. This applies also to the exports of iron and manganese ore, cocoa, vegetables, fruits and nuts during the year, the bulk of these coming to the United States markets.

The island of Cuba has been well described as one gigantic farm of marvelously fertile soil, and while the production of sugar and tobacco will probably maintain its present prominence for an indefinite period, the wealth of the island might be easily increased by more earnest efforts to revive the culture of coffee. In the growing of fruits and vegetables the soil has proven exceptionally favorable, and it is even said that under ordinary conditions strawberries may be produced every month in the year. Pineapples have been cultivated on a rather large scale recently, the American markets controlling the entire export trade. The leading fruit product is the banana, and, though the quality may be somewhat inferior to that of other tropical countries, yet the value of shipments to the United States during the fiscal year 1901 amounted to more than half a million dollars. Careful and intelligent investigation of Cuba's possibilities in fruit and vegetable production should result in a more evenly balanced development of her resources, besides a direct benefit to the American consumer on the mainland.

In summarizing the trade of Cuba for the twelve months of the calendar year 1901, the value of imported merchandise is shown to be $66,583,973, as against $66,658,589 for the corresponding period of 1900; and the exports of merchandise during the twelve months ended December 31, 1901, amounted to $63,278,380, as against $48,904,684 for the same period of 1900. The value of merchandise coming from the United States during the calendar year 1901, was $28,078,633, a decrease of $1,097,369 as compared with the corresponding period of 1900, while the exports for the

period of 1901 amounted to $48,066,579, an increase of $14,819,970.

The Philippines.—It may be said that there is a well defined policy among European countries to discourage the establishment of manufactures in their respective colonies, the effect of which policy has been to furnish employment to skilled workmen in the mother countries and to create an exchange of manufactured goods for crude products.

With the exception of the making of cigars and cigarettes, and the weaving of certain fibers on hand looms, there is virtually no manufacturing done in the Philippines. As a consequence, the islands must look to Europe and America for manufactured goods and pay for them with agricultural products. There can be no doubt that their demand for foreign goods will steadily increase, since the Filipinos are, as a rule, adaptive and imitative, and when the conveniences and comforts of a higher civilization are brought to their notice they are quick to appreciate and to utilize them.

From Philippine statistics for the fiscal years 1900 and 1901, compiled in the Insular Division of the War Department, it will be seen that the importation of cotton and cotton goods is far in excess of that of any other commodity, in fact, constituting over 30 per cent of the total value of imports for 1901. The increase in value of all imports for 1901 over 1900 was, approximately, 50 per cent, while the value of cotton and its products has increased 60 per cent. The ratio of increase of cottons exported from the United States to the Philippines during the period mentioned was nearly 300 per cent, but the value of these exports as compared with those from other countries is not so satisfactory. The demand for cotton goods will doubtless continue to grow larger and for many years the islands will be heavy purchasers of cotton fabrics, of which trade the United States should secure a large share. Large shipments from Hong Kong are, as a rule, consignments from other countries reshipped. It is believed that fully 30 per cent of the exporta-

tions from Hong Kong (exclusive of rice) originate in the United States, although they are not so credited in computing these ratios.

Next in importance as an import is rice, of which nearly all comes from China and the East Indies. With all the natural advantages for the cultivation of this cereal and the introduction of modern methods, it is believed the Philippines will, in a few years, not only raise a sufficiency of rice for home consumption, but a surplus for exportation.

The demand for wheat flour is increasing very rapidly, and the supply from the United States is largely in excess of that from all other countries combined. It is confidently asserted that this demand will continue to increase until it reaches enormous proportions, and America will probably be the beneficiary of the trade in flour while the Filipinos can easily sell their rice when wheat flour is substituted for it.

The imports of machinery, manufactures of iron and steel and other metals have increased 140 per cent, the increase from the United States being nearly 318 per cent. There can be no reasonable doubt that for many years the Philippines will be a good market for modern agricultural machinery, saw mills, steam boilers, electrical apparatus, and, in fact, practically all the productions of the machine shop.

The lines of trade in which American manufactures are most backward, are, in many cases, the same as in Cuba, namely, chemicals, dyes, drugs, leather and its manufactures, including boots and shoes, dairy products and provisions, oils, grease and paraffine. The following table illustrates the approximate proportions imported from the United States, during the year 1901:

Boots and shoes	12 per cent
Provisions and dairy products	4 "
Oils, grease and paraffine	6 "

In the case of oils, it is to be noted that petroleum constituted about one-half of the value of this item, and that

Russia furnished three-fourths of all the petroleum imported. It may naturally be expected that with the recent development of oil fields in the southern part of the United States, the American product may be able to compete with Russian petroleum.

Hemp, sugar, tobacco and copra constitute more than nine-tenths of Philippine exports. Ten or twelve years ago coffee was extensively raised, but, owing to the ravages of an insect, its culture has been virtually abandoned, the exportation declining in value from more than one and a half million dollars in 1888, to less than seven thousand dollars in 1901.

The agricultural enterprise of the islands is centered in hemp, more than 90 per cent of the export trade in this commodity going to the United States and the United Kingdom, the latter country receiving practically three-fourths of a total exportation of nearly fifteen million dollars' worth during the fiscal year 1901. There is a constantly increasing demand for Manila grown hemp, the preparation of which at this time is a slow and tedious process. By an Act of Congress, signed March 8, 1902, provision is made whereby hemp coming directly from the Philippines to the United States for use and consumption therein, is exempt from any export duties imposed in the Philippine Islands. This Act gives American manufacturers of hemp an advantage over those of other countries, in the purchase of raw material amounting to $7.50 per long ton, providing that the same is shipped to the United States from the Philippines in one bottom and is consumed within eighteen months after exportation. The export tax is paid on all shipments, but when evidence is furnished to the Collector of Customs for the Philippine Archipelago that the provisions of the Act, and the regulations relative thereto have been observed, the export tax is refunded.

The production of sugar, one of the leading industries, has fallen off greatly in the last few years, owing to the dis-

turbed condition of affairs, heavy freight rates, the lack of modern methods of manufacture, and the growth of the beet sugar industry. Japan is the heaviest purchaser, taking nearly one-half of the total amount shipped.

Tobacco, in the leaf and manufactured, forms an important article of export, and the cultivation and manufacture of tobacco ranks all other industries in the islands. The production is constantly growing in volume, the quality of the leaf is excellent and the price is low. With a better knowledge of the "curing" process and better methods generally, this industry will advance with extraordinary strides, but little is shipped to the United States. Copra (dried meats of cocoanuts) is another of the principal exports. It is used in the manufacture of soap and candles. France is the largest consumer, taking more than half of the amount exported.

The consensus of opinion seems to be that, with the gradual improvement of conditions in the Philippines, it will be found advisable to introduce the most modern labor-saving machinery and to establish well equipped plants for the handling of the raw material of the islands.

The value of merchandise, exclusive of quartermaster's supplies, imported into the Philippines during the calendar year ended December 31, 1901, was $30,162,471, as against $24,863,779 for the corresponding period of 1900; and the exports of merchandise during these periods amounted to $24,503,353 in 1901 as against $22,990,373 during the same period of 1900.

The United States' share of goods coming into the islands during the calendar year 1901, was $3,534,255, an increase of $1,381,057 over the corresponding period of 1900, while the exports for the period of 1901 amounted to $4,546,292, an increase of $1,585,441.

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OUR TRADE WITH HAWAII AND PORTO RICO

The growth of the commerce of the United States with its recently acquired territory is a subject of great importance and interest, especially in considering the effect of annexation upon our foreign commerce, upon the prosperity of the new possessions and their ability to contribute to our growing demands for tropical products. The United States buys from abroad every day of the year a million dollars' worth of tropical products, and if it can buy these or any considerable part of them in its own territory, it will benefit not only the population of that territory, but incidentally the people of the United States, whose capital is or may be invested in the new fields, as well as the great manufacturing and producing elements of our community by opening an increased market for our products. A study of the commerce of the United States with its new possessions, therefore, must consider not merely the figures of actual growth, but also that development of producing and consuming power in the dependencies which is due to, or at least follows upon, the new trade relations established between the dependencies and the great consuming and producing community of the United States. In the case of two of the several islands over which the United States has recently acquired control—Hawaii and Porto Rico—absolute freedom of interchange between the islands and the great markets of the United States has been established, and Congress has just enacted a law making a 25 per cent reduction in duties on imports from the Philippines. In the case of Porto Rico the reduction began in 1900, when 85 per cent of the tariff on the commerce between that island and the United States was abolished, while in July, 1901, the remaining 15 per cent was, at the request of the people of Porto Rico through their legislature, also removed. There has been, therefore, a little less than two years of practical, and less than one

year of absolute, freedom of interchange between Porto Rico and the markets of the United States. In the case of the Hawaiian Islands, however, freedom of interchange in the principal articles produced and consumed in those islands began much earlier, having been established by the reciprocity treaty of September 9, 1876, and continued until the annexation of Hawaii in 1900, when absolute freedom of exchange in all articles was established. There is opportunity, then, to study the commercial developments under freedom of interchange in a limited form in the case of Porto Rico since May, 1900, and in the case of the Hawaiian Islands since September, 1876, and in the complete form in Porto Rico since July, 1901, and in the Hawaiian Islands since April, 1900.

That there has been a phenomenal increase in the commerce between the United States and these two island territories cannot be doubted. From Porto Rico we were accustomed to import merchandise ranging from a million and a half dollars to three million dollars in value per annum; now we are importing from that island merchandise valued at from six to seven million dollars per annum. We were accustomed to sell in that market merchandise ranging from one and a half to two and a half million dollars in value; now we are selling there merchandise ranging from seven to eight million dollars in value per annum. Our imports from Porto Rico, as will be seen in the accompanying table, were in 1895, $1,506,512, and in the three years immediately preceding the war with Spain, averaged about two and a quarter millions per annum. In the fiscal year 1901 they were $5,883,892, and in the calendar year 1901 were $6,958,677. On the export side the increase is even more strongly marked, the average during the four years prior to the war being less than two million dollars of exports from the United States to Porto Rico, while in the fiscal year 1901 the domestic exports alone were $6,861,917, and in the calendar year 1901 were $8,746,651. Thus our imports from

the island may be said to have trebled, and our exports to the island quadrupled comparing the calendar year 1901 with the average during the three or four years immediately preceding the war with Spain.

In the case of the Hawaiian Islands where the freedom of interchange has extended over a much longer period and an opportunity has been offered to make its stimulating effects felt upon the producing and consuming power of the islands, the increase has been much greater. The reciprocity treaty which went into effect in 1876 provided that the United States should admit free of duty sugar, molasses, rice, hides and skins, fruits and nuts, and vegetables from the Hawaiian Islands, and that the Hawaiian Government should admit free of duty from the United States a large number of articles, including breadstuffs, provisions, manufactures, machinery, agricultural implements, and in fact nearly all of the articles required in daily life and in the industries of the islands. Commerce with the islands both in imports and exports soon showed a phenomenal increase. In the year ended June 30, 1876, which immediately preceded the reciprocity treaty, the imports into the United States from the Hawaiian Islands were $1,227,191 and the exports to those islands $779,257, and these figures included gold and silver. In the fiscal year 1900, the imports from Hawaii were $20,707,903 and the exports to Hawaii $13,509,148, exclusive of gold and silver. Thus the imports of merchandise alone in the fiscal year 1900 were seventeen times as much as those of merchandise and specie in 1876, while the exports in 1900 were also seventeen times as great. Unfortunately we have no exact figures for the year 1901, owing to the fact that the Hawaiian Islands were in 1900 made a customs district of the United States, and as no authority exists under the law to require statements of commerce between the various customs districts of the United States, persons engaged in that commerce refused to supply the statistics of their trade as they had formerly done when Hawaii was for-

eign territory. It has been possible, however, to obtain a statement of the shipments from Hawaii to the United States during the calendar year 1901, and this statement shows the total value of such shipments to be $27,012,866; while the best estimates that can be obtained put the shipments from the United States to Hawaii during the year at something more than $20,000,000. Thus it will be seen that the shipments of merchandise from Hawaii to the United States were in the calendar year 1901 twenty-two times as great as those of merchandise and specie in the fiscal year 1876, and the shipments of merchandise from the United States to the Hawaiian Islands in 1901 were about twenty-five times as much as in 1876.

A second consideration, though not at all a secondary one in its importance, is the effect of these trade relations upon the industries of the territory in question. It can scarcely be expected that the effect of the new relations with Porto Rico would be perceptible in the short space of time since they began operation. The opening of new producing territory, the construction of roads and railways to transport its productions to market, the introduction of capital for the establishment of the works necessary to turn the products of the additional area into marketable form all require a certain amount of time and are also dependent upon a return to settled conditions. It can scarcely be expected, therefore, that in the less than two years since the enactment of legislation definitely establishing the relations of Porto Rico to the United States these things could have been accomplished in sufficient extent to show in any marked degree the effect of the new relations upon the producing capacity of the island. In the case of the Hawaiian Islands, however, a sufficient time has elapsed to afford opportunity for a study of this feature of the question. Such a study shows that the production of the islands increased enormously immediately following the new trade relations with the United States. In 1876 the sugar production of the Hawaiian Islands was

26,072,429 pounds; by 1879 their production had practically doubled, being 49,020,871 pounds; by 1882 it had more than quadrupled, being in that year 114,177,938 pounds; by 1890 it was ten times as great as in 1876, being 259,789,462 pounds; by 1896 it was seventeen times as great as in 1876, being 443,569,282 pounds; in 1899 it was twenty-times as great as in 1876, being 545,370,537 pounds, and in the fiscal year 1901 it was twenty six times as great, being 690,882,132 pounds. The value of the sugar production of the islands in 1876 was $1,272,334, and the value in the fiscal year 1901 was $27,094,155, or twenty-two times as much as the production of 1876, the growth in value being, of course, less than in quantity, because of the material fall in prices of sugar since 1876. In the case of Porto Rico, its proximity to the great consuming centres of the United States, which demand tropical fruits in great quantities, as well as coffee, sugar and other staples, seems to justify the expectation that an equally rapid growth may follow.

Of equal importance with the increased producing power of the islands to which the United States thus opens its great markets is their increased consuming power. As a rule the purchases of a community are limited by its purchasing power, or in other words, its sales. The producing power of the Hawaiian Islands has increased more than twenty fold, as is shown by the figures already quoted above of the increased production of its principal article of commerce—sugar—and as a consequence of this increased purchasing power its demands upon the United States for the products of our fields and factories have correspondingly increased. In the figures already quoted it is shown that the exports from the United States to the Hawaiian Islands have grown from $779,257 in 1876 to $13,509,148 in the fiscal year 1900, and an estimated $20,000,000 in the calendar year 1901. Prior to the existence of the reciprocity relations between the Hawaiian Islands and the United States the islands took less

than 50 per cent of their imports from the United States; since that time they have taken from 75 to 85 per cent of their greatly increased imports from the United States.

The following tables show the commerce of the United States with Porto Rico from 1892 to 1901, and with the Hawaiian Islands at quinquennial periods from 1860 to 1901. The figures for 1901 relate to the calendar year, no satisfactory record for the fiscal year being available, especially in the case of the Hawaiian Islands.

Commerce of the United States with the Hawaiian Islands at Quinquennial Periods from 1860 to 1901.

Fiscal Year.	Imports into United States from Hawaii.	Exports from United States to Hawaii.
1860	$334,743	$659,345
1865	573,734	643,247
1870	1,134,723	808,416
1875	1,373,681	662,164
1880	4,606,444	2,086,170
1885	8,857,497	2,787,922
1890	12,313,908	4,711,417
1895	7,888,961	3,723,057
1900	20,707,903	13,509,148
1901[1]	27,012,866	20,000,000

Commerce of the United States with Porto Rico, 1892 to 1901.

Fiscal Year.	Imports into United States from Porto Rico.	Exports from United States to Porto Rico.
1892	$3,248,007	$2,856,003
1893	4,008,623	2,510,607
1894	3,135,634	2,720,508
1895	1,506,512	1,833,544
1896	2,296,653	2,102,094
1897	2,181,024	1,988,888
1898	2,414,356	1,505,946
1899	3,179,827	2,685,848
1900	3,078,648	4,640,449
1901[1]	6,958,677	8,746,651

[1] Calendar year.

Bureau of Statistics, Washington, D. C. O. P. AUSTIN.

STRATEGIC VALUE OF HER WEST INDIAN POSSESSIONS TO THE UNITED STATES.

If "in time of peace we must prepare for war," it becomes necessary also in time of peace to contemplate the dangers to which we may be exposed in war, for only thus shall we make our preparations adequate, and along the right lines. If in the following article emphasis is laid upon the dangers rather than the advantages of certain conditions, it is but to bring out forcibly the means by which the dangers may be averted, as well as the advantages reaped.

In its broadest sense, strategy deals with all acts, diplomatic or political, civil or military, that make ultimately for a nation's strength in war. The accepted leaders of our people expect the policy of expansion in the West Indies and elsewhere to yield great increase of trade and new opportunities for the profitable use of American capital. It is generally believed that this policy will increase our national prosperity and our influence for the world's good in the council of nations.

Before passing to the more limited case of our West Indian acquisitions, it will be well to contemplate the general but strictly military consequences of possessing islands beyond the sea. Prior to 1898 the United States was the strongest of all nations *on the defensive*. Our population was self-sustaining and could not be reduced to submission through blockade. On account of the difficulties of ocean transport no army could land and sustain itself for a successful campaign within our borders. The European power with which most frequently we had had serious complications in the past, and which most of all nations possessed means to annoy and harass our coasts, was deterred from any hostile undertakings through fear of losing Canada. President Cleveland could be sure that his Venezuelan message would provoke no war.

Notwithstanding our great defensive strength we should

have been in a very embarrassing position if at that time we had been called upon to enforce the Monroe Doctrine as against Germany, France or Russia. These nations were each superior to us upon the sea, and where else against either one of them might we even have attempted a hostile blow? We must admit that our *offensive* military strength, except as against England in Canada, was insignificant. This certainly appears to have been a dangerous situation for a nation traditionally attached to the Monroe Doctrine.

When we acquired possessions beyond the sea, we lost in great measure our splendid defensive strength, while we added to our power to strike offensive blows. At the same time that we increased our ability to sustain the Monroe Doctrine, and thus reduced the probability of war due to its violations, we increased the probability of war due to other causes, for we entered into contact with the world's great powers at a greatly increased number of points.

Whether the gain of offensive and loss of defensive strength leave us with a balance to the good is, in a measure, an indeterminate problem, the unknown quantities being indicated in the following questions:

1. Who will be our antagonist?

2. What preparations shall we make, in peace, to reap advantages from our new conditions?

In a war to-day with a great commercial power, equal or inferior to us in naval strength, we should undoubtedly find our acquisitions a distinct gain. But in a war with a power of considerably greater naval strength we should find that we had but acquired points vulnerable to attack, and several burning problems now agitating the public mind would be speedily solved by our opponent.

The relation of sea power to over-sea possessions may be briefly stated in the light of history and of European policies. Of the five great European powers Russia alone has pursued a policy that enables her to ignore the command of the sea. With unorganized and inferior peoples upon her

eastern and southeastern borders, she has been able to extend her limits by the absorption of contiguous continental territory whose inhabitants are quickly assimilated. Why did Russia part with the Kurile Islands in 1875, and with Alaska in 1867, if it was not to divest herself of distant possessions, recognized as sources of weakness to a nation whose military strength lay upon the land? And what isolated possessions does she now maintain vulnerable to British attack? It seems written upon the wall that, when land communication between Russia and India shall possess military advantages over water communication between Great Britain and India, the day of British rule in India shall pass.

Compare, further, the courses of the Spanish and Boer wars. Spain was vulnerable because of her outlying possessions. Her navy was not far inferior to ours, and her trained army was many times larger, yet Spain was overwhelmed in four months in battles that occurred far from the Spanish peninsula. On the other hand the Boers, with no navy and with but a handful of men, have sustained themselves for years against an antagonist almost infinitely stronger, because the Boer territorial possessions were compact and distant from the enemy's base.

Napoleon conquered Egypt in 1799, but the defeat of the French fleet at Aboukir drove him back to France. And why did Napoleon sell Louisiana to the United States but because that master of strategy recognized it as a source of weakness to France.

Another example is seen in the conduct of British military operations in 1781. In the month of March of that year De Grasse sailed westward with thirty-six ships of the line, a sufficient force to give the allies command of the sea on the American coast. In the same month an English fleet sailed from Portsmouth under Admiral Darby. If the latter fleet had gone to North America the command of the sea there would have been Great Britain's, Cornwallis need not have surrendered at Yorktown and we might have been

British subjects to-day. Why did not Darby sail for North America? Because Gibraltar in that event would have fallen. It was at that moment suffering from the horrors of a protracted siege, and famine and disease were about to cause its surrender. In that war England did not have perfect command of the sea over the combined Dutch, French and Spanish navies, and she found her outlying possessions, even Gibraltar itself, a source of weakness. In Beatson's "Memoirs" occurs the following: "A question was very much agitated in and out of Parliament, namely, whether the interception of the French fleet under the Count de Grasse should not have been the first object of the British fleet under Darby. . . . It would have insured the safety of the British West Indies . . . and the campaign in North America might have had a very different termination."

Mahan, referring to the same question, says: "The conclusion continually recurs. Whatever may be the determining factors in strifes between neighboring continental systems, where a question arises of control over distant regions, politically weak,—whether they be crumbling empires, anarchical republics, colonies, isolated military posts or islands below a certain size,—it must ultimately be decided by naval power, by the organized military force afloat, which represents the communications that form so prominent a feature in all strategy. . . . Upon this will depend the control of the Central American Isthmus, if that question take a military coloring."

The fact must be emphasized that all authorities agree upon this one point, that neither fortifications nor men can hold for more than a short time any possession distant from the primary base, unless the line of communications be kept open. And to keep the line of communications open means to obtain and retain the command of the sea.

Colonel Sir George Clarke, a great British strategist, has written an account of our recent war with Spain from which the following is quoted: "On the other hand, Spain was

committed to the defence of Cuba, which, as in all such cases, was possible only if maritime communication with the mother country could be maintained. Writing in June, 1897, Captain Mahan referred to 'the pre-eminent intrinsic advantages of Cuba, or rather of Spain in Cuba;' but these advantages could be turned to account only if naval supremacy in West Indian waters could be asserted. Assuming the latter condition, Porto Rico, with the fortified port of San Juan, 1,000 miles from Havana and 5,300 miles from Cadiz, was also a strategic point of importance. Failing this condition, both Cuba and Porto Rico were necessarily sources of weakness and their fall was merely a question of time depending upon their power of military resistance on shore."

The following extracts are from an anonymous British source. The author is vouched for by Brassey and his views are well expressed and harmonious with current expert opinion:

"It is often said, when an additional station is proposed, that a new establishment, if it does not do any good, will at any rate not do any harm. The worst of this statement is that it is not true. Every station beyond the requisite minimum not only does do harm, but also in war may be the cause of much and grievous harm. In peace time its maintenance causes useless expenditure and complicates the storage and issue of supplies. Many stations of the class in question produce few of the articles deposited in their magazines; none produce all, some produce none. In certain cases the local production of food is not enough for their regular inhabitants, much less for their inhabitants plus their garrisons. It is obvious, therefore, that in time of war the necessary 'stream of supplies and reinforcements' must flow to them with the least possible interruption. In other words, their communications must be kept open. As the line of these communications runs across the sea, the duty of keeping them open must be discharged by the navy, and by the

navy alone. Argument and experience both show what a heavy burden this is for a fleet. Should any one wish to learn the verdict of history on this question let him turn to the case of Darby's 'relief' of Gibraltar, and let him note the connection of De Grasse's movements with it, and its general effect on the campaign."

Some of the lessons we should learn from history are then the following:

First.—A nation of any considerable size and military spirit, compact as to its territorial possessions, even if without a navy, is practically unconquerable if it possesses the advantage of remoteness from its enemy's primary base.

Second.—As corollary to the proposition above stated, it may be held that a nation possessed of the predominant sea-power may add to its isolated colonial possessions *ad libitum.* With its fleets "in being," it is almost if not quite as easy to protect one hundred as ten outlying possessions, or if not to protect them during all phases of war, at least to end the war with its original possessions.

Third.—Outlying possessions of any nation are in time of war at the mercy of an adversary possessing decided control of the sea.

These truths are almost self-evident. It was the dictum of Von Moltke that the first principles of strategy do not rise above the level of common sense. The practical conclusion forced upon us is that if we would surely profit by our possessions abroad we must build and maintain a navy equal to any but Great Britain's. We must still rely upon Canada as a sufficient bond that Great Britain will preserve the peace, for no one at this time would venture to commit our country to a contest of expenditures for naval supremacy with that great empire of the sea. The military value of any outlying possession is determined by its position relative to lines of communication.

In the West Indies, England holds Jamaica and Santa Lucia, and France holds Martinique. Cuba (for naval pur-

poses), Porto Rico, and I believe we may say St. Thomas, belong to the United States. Santo Domingo, belonging to no great power, might be seized by any in case it came to have a war-time importance. There are no other West Indian islands of any special present strategic value.

Cuba possesses several excellent harbors, among them Havana, Cienfuegos and Santiago. Havana lies upon the flank of the Straits of Florida and Santiago close to the Windward Passage.

Santo Domingo has excellent harbors at Mole St. Nicholas and Samana Bay, near the Windward and Mona passages, respectively.

Porto Rico, lying between the Mona and Anegada passages, has upon the main island no harbors that are especially fit for naval stations, although there are several that might be used at a pinch. San Juan harbor lies so close to the sea that an enemy might destroy docks and the like by bombardment. Fajardo is very open, but might be made to serve if expensive breakwaters were constructed. Ponce and Mayaguez harbors are also very open to the sea.

Culebra, a small island to the east of and pertaining to Porto Rico, possesses an excellent harbor, better probably for war purposes than any in Porto Rico, and very nearly if not quite as good as the harbor at St. Thomas. Culebra is uninhabited and lies, as does St. Thomas, close to the Anegada passage.

There is such a thing as an embarrassment of riches in the way of harbors suited for naval bases. In the late war our navy would have been seriously inconvenienced at Santiago had not the neighboring Spanish harbor of Guantanamo served it as a temporary base. It is probably true that we should not purchase St. Thomas did we know that she would remain the possession of a neutral power. It is readily seen that every harbor we own which is suitable for naval purposes by conformation, depth and position, unless

fortified or made secure through command of the sea, may be utilized by an enemy for hostile operations.

If other things were nearly equal a naval station in Porto Rico might conceivably have great advantage over one at St. Thomas. Porto Rico might be made self-sustaining during blockade, which St. Thomas could never be, and if our authorities determine to establish a naval station at San Juan, for example, it would be a military measure of great importance to encourage the people of the island, by bounties or otherwise, to become a food exporting people. It would be a further exhibition of military foresight if we so endeared the population to our institutions that they would fight an invader in the way a people fight for home and liberty.

In the event of war with a superior naval power, as the latter might assume command of the sea in any part of the world, any naval station of ours there would find its communications with home ports broken. At a time, by a method, and with a force of his own choosing, the enemy could attack, and he could reinforce and bring up supplies at will. The fall of our naval station could be but a matter of time unless it were situated upon a self-sustaining island possessing a large and devoted population.

The value of a naval station upon a line of communications may be summed up as follows:

1. It constitutes a base, due to the immediate proximity of which an inferior force may raid the commerce of an enemy or protect its own commerce.

2. It tends to deter the enemy from passing by to engage in other operations. Like an army, a war fleet must keep open its line of communications. For upon it will be passing at all times, in one direction or the other, dispatch boats, colliers, supply ships, crippled war vessels and reinforcements.

The Windward, Mona and Anegada passages are the only navigable breaks in the northern barrier enclosing the Caribbean Sea.

When an isthmian canal shall have been constructed it will be approached from Europe most conveniently by the Anegada passage, and from Atlantic ports of the United States by the Windward and Mona passages. Each passage will become the highway of a great commerce.

No matter how strongly the isthmian canal may be fortified it would, in war, serve us no purpose—indeed, through war, we might lose it entirely—if our fleet could not control its approaches.

In this connection it may be observed that if our fleet did control such approaches the only fortifications needed would appear to be of a minor character designed to prevent raids.

In closing we may sum up the case as follows: The possession of distant islands weakens the United States defensively. So also would the construction of an isthmian canal without the building of an adequate navy. For offensive operations as bases for our mobile force—the navy—distant islands, properly located, increase our strength materially. The construction of an isthmian canal would also add to our offensive strength in that it would tend to facilitate the distribution and concentration of our offensive arm.

The main point is that no possible good, in war, can result from canal or our West Indian possessions unless we possess an adequate navy.

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COLONIAL AUTONOMY

In his work on "Representative Government," John Stuart Mill has said that the representative system is required by all progressive peoples after they have passed through a period of slavery. In other words, after compulsory servitude has instilled through long generations the habit of industry, then, and not till then, are nations ready to progress one step further to representative government. The representative system, according to Mill, performs two functions: (1) It develops in the individual a sense of responsibility and power as an individual, which slavery by its nature could never give; and (2) in the long run it renders possible a better and more satisfactory performance of the services for which governments are established.

Whatever may have been the sins of the past, the territorial or colonial government of the future must realize two great objects: (1) It must perform for the people certain services and conveniences which are necessary to national welfare and progress, such as the establishment of roads and means of communication, of schools, courts of justice, sanitary regulations, etc., and (2) it must enlist the co-operation and sympathy of the people, and must stimulate the feeling of political responsibility among all classes. There are colonies in which the government performs admirably one of these functions and neglects the other; France has spent billions of francs upon the internal development of some of her colonies, but until recently has done little to build up the spirit of political independence. England, on the contrary, has at times pursued a policy calculated to produce colonial independence, even at the sacrifice of colonial development, while Spain exercised unquestioned control over certain of her colonies for centuries without any serious effort, either to develop their internal possibilities or the political education of their peoples. The query presents itself,

should every colonial system be so constructed as to give equal weight to these two factors of efficient service and colonial autonomy? This is probably the most difficult of all political problems in the government of dependencies. It would not be a very difficult matter for the men who are now managing the governments of Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines, to set up a highly efficient administrative system, which would afford the people all the services demanded of modern governments, if the co-operation of the natives were not necessary. But is such a plan desirable? President Roosevelt, in his first message to Congress, has pointed out the peculiar nature of the situation which confronts the United States as regards her dependencies. The United States entered upon her colonial career with one fundamental condition entirely at variance with those of other countries. We began by making promises. Our domestic institutions and the spirit of our people having been opposed more or less strongly to the control of subject peoples, we have conferred representative institutions upon the natives in nearly all the new possessions. The question, therefore, of the desirability of establishing an efficient government, without the co-operation of the natives, is a more or less academic one. We have already solicited the participation of the insular peoples, and to abolish this part of the system now would excite even more opposition than if it had never been invited. The question may therefore be stated as follows: Given the existence of representative institutions in the dependencies, how much weight shall be placed upon these institutions, and what rôle shall they play in the actual decision of colonial questions?

The most urgent and immediate need of the new members of our family is not for more independence, but rather for the efficient performance of governmental services. This is especially noticeable in the Philippines. Throughout all the discussion as to whether the natives are or are not ready for a high degree of political activity, and in spite of all claims

for independence set up by a certain element of the Filipinos, there has never been the least doubt as to what the archipelago most requires at the present moment. The development of the commercial possibilities of the islands, a complete system of public schools and the establishment of impartial courts of justice, are vastly more important in this initial stage than is the organization of elective governments or the cultivation of Filipino independence. In only slightly different degree this is true of all our possessions. In territories where the proportion of children attending school falls as low as one out of twenty children of school age, where immense sections of the country are by reason of undeveloped means of communication denied access to natural markets for their products, and where a complete revision of the local and municipal governments is being undertaken, or has yet to be made, it is evident that the question of independence is relatively a secondary one as compared with the demand for internal development. By this it is not meant to imply that representative institutions and efficient government are incompatible. But a glance at the history of political representation will show that the system was not primarily aimed at efficiency; its origin and development are calculated first and foremost to conserve the rights of the people. It has been adapted through successive centuries to the new conditions of each time, and is now much better calculated to secure the successful performance of governmental services than ever before. Yet the fact remains that its object is not efficiency, and that in territories where, as in our possessions, representative institutions already exist, the demand that greater independence and power be conferred upon these institutions must be regarded as less important than the demand for the immediate performance by the government of certain much-needed services.

There are few Americans who would advocate the abolition of representative governments in the islands or the

reduction of these representative governments to a merely formal power. But it is a significant fact that nearly all of those who have visited the dependencies, and expressed their opinions on the subject, emphasize the necessity of securing the immediate development of the internal resources of the islands before concentrating our attention upon the extent of colonial autonomy.

In the present stage of our policy, then, territorial autonomy is advisable, but efficient government is a vital necessity. Too little emphasis has been laid upon this fact; while it has been admitted, in the newspaper and magazine discussions of the subject, that the necessity for strong, efficient government is evident on all sides, yet the bulk of attention has been given to the secondary question of autonomy. The debates in Congress have turned largely upon this point; the agitation of political parties has been directed along this line, and the general tendency of public opinion, where expressed, seems to be favorable to an early if not a premature grant of extended powers to the elected element in the insular legislatures.

As to the relation of colonial autonomy to the suffrage, we have in our newspaper discussions, at least, treated the two questions, suffrage and independence, separately. Broad and liberal suffrage regulations have been proposed without regard to the degree of control exercised by the home government over the islands, and in some cases, after a liberal suffrage qualification has been established, the demand for a territorial government has been raised. To begin with a tentative statement of principles, it should be said that colonial autonomy and suffrage qualifications are two sides of the same question. In tropical dependencies, where the American element is not in the majority, the degree of independence to be given to the popular representative body must be determined very largely by the elements of the population which they represent, in other words, by the suffrage qualifications.

Liberty is a habit. It is not something which people "obtain," but is the result of cultivation. It has taken the Anglo-Saxons seven hundred years to cultivate this habit, and we should therefore not be disappointed if it cannot be communicated to tropical peoples in four years. The inoculation theory of liberty is annually proving itself less tenable. This is no reason why we should fail to encourage the habit of toleration and mutual respect which is at the basis of Anglo-Saxon politics, but it is a strong inducement for us to proceed carefully in conferring important and even critical powers upon elective representatives in tropical dependencies. One of the interesting psychological features of the insular peoples with whom we are now coming in contact is their confidence in our ability to bring about better conditions, and their dependence upon us for this change. They have heard for years of the wonderful results which have attended the operation of representative institutions on the North American Continent, and they are firmly of the belief that the institutions alone have produced the results. The effects of this belief are plainly seen in those Latin-American countries where republican government has been adopted. The unsatisfactory working of representation in these countries may be regarded as the outcome of too much faith in a mere governmental system. The radical classes in every country, acting on the theory that their interests can only be conserved by universal suffrage, have placed this institution in the front rank of their political platforms. The propertied classes, believing themselves to be denied that dominant influence in politics which they considered their natural right, have necessarily transferred their political action from the ballot to the executive, and have sought to retain their control of the organs of government by establishing order through a dictatorship.

The practical conclusion which may be drawn from this fact for application in our dependencies, is that the wider the suffrage and the greater the number of persons who are unfa-

miliar with the practical daily operation of representative institutions, the greater should be the control exercised by the representives of the United States in the government of the dependency. In Porto Rico, for example, the social conditions and lack of familiarity with representative government has early led to a bitter partisan strife which must be laid aside before representative government can assume its true position in the island. Hence the necessity for a guiding influence such as that exerted by the appointed Executive Council. An examination of the laws and resolutions passed by the Legislative Assembly of Porto Rico, at its first session, shows that a large proportion of these originated in the appointed house, a striking yet perfectly natural result of the guiding rôle played by the representatives of the United States. It should be further called to mind that the political conditions in the opening years of the new government were in a sense greatly simplified by the refusal of the Federal party to take part in the elections. This permitted the Governor and his advisers in the Council to manage insular affairs in co-operation with a single party. The two initial years of the American régime in Porto Rico were therefore unusual; one of the severest tests of our ability to cope with problems of party government and an extended suffrage is yet to come. When both parties are actively engaged in political propaganda, and all that such propaganda implies, and when both parties enter into active permanent competition with each other, we shall have a more truly party government, but at the same time a government in which the rôle of the Executive Council, as the guiding element, will be more difficult. Viewed from this standpoint the popular demand for a territorial form of government in Porto Rico, with an elected upper house, appears premature. Leaving all other considerations aside, the legislative and administrative questions still requiring solution are so important, the success or failure of our government in Porto Rico is so dependent upon the proper solution of

these questions, and the classes now included in the voting registers are in such an elementary stage of political development, that it would seem an unnecessarily hazardous experiment to dispense with the stimulating influence of the appointed upper house.

In the Philippines the same considerations apply with increased force, while in Hawaii the limitation of the suffrage to persons who are more or less directly under the influence of what might be called the American spirit, may fairly be urged as a reason for making the upper house elective, although even here the recent conflict between the legislative and the executive, between the elected legislature and the appointed governor, threatens to retard progress seriously.

There is another point of colonial policy which bears a close relation to the question of autonomy, but which can only be treated briefly in a general discussion. The system of local government exercises a most important influence upon the development of that spirit of toleration and mutual respect which, it has been asserted, rests at the foundation of representative government. The Anglo-Saxon system of representation is based historically upon the growth of local government. The recent decay of interest in local affairs has served to cloud this fact. It should be remembered that not only has the structure of our representative bodies its footing in the localities, but that all the educational influences which have brought about the distinctly Anglo-Saxon type of party government have hitherto been of local origin. The question as to what degree of autonomy is to be granted to a dependency, must therefore be answered very largely with reference to the presence or absence of this important means of political education. Communal life is the primary department of the national parliament; it is a means, if not the means, of affording preliminary exercise and training for the greater field of activity. One of the earliest endeavors of those who so earnestly advocate the establish-

ment of strong and influential representative institutions in the dependencies, should be to secure the operation of this powerful preparatory influence.

As to the exact method by which colonial autonomy is preserved or regulated respectively, a great diversity of practice exists in different countries. The control of the mother country is usually exerted in one of two general ways: (1) The power of approval or disapproval exerted in the home country itself, and (2) a control exerted by officials resident in the dependency but appointed by the home government. Of the first kind of central control there are two variations, (*a*) one in which the national *legislature* acts as the controlling body, approving or disapproving the resolutions of the colonial government and actively intervening in the affairs of the colony, and (*b*) a system in which this power of approval is exerted almost entirely by the *executive* of the mother country. In this latter system the head of the colonial bureau or department scans all the principal acts of each colony and supervises in more or less detail the ordinary conduct of colonial administration. In those cases in which the control is exerted by appointed officials residing in the colony, there are also important variations in the practice of modern nations. There may be (*a*) a distinct upper house composed of appointed officials who act as a check upon the elected lower house—this is the time-honored method, and it has generally produced satisfactory results; or (*b*), there may be a single house elected by the people, but held in check by the governor's veto; or (*c*), there may be a single house composed partly of elected and partly of appointed members, in which the appointed members are in a majority. In all of these instances it will be noticed there is, somewhere in the organization, a point at which radical or subversive action by the elected members may be stopped. But this is not sufficient. The modern conception of the rôle to be played by a colonizing nation is not that its representatives should simply operate as a check upon colonial legislatures, but rather that

they should act as a stimulus to progress, as for example the rôle played by England in Egypt or by France in Algeria. Allowing for a variety of conditions in different colonies, it may fairly be said that after the first feeling of irresponsibility on the part of the people has been eradicated, the great difficulty will be in maintaining the progress of colonial development. The part to be played by the appointed representatives of the home country must therefore always be an important one. There must be a standard by which the elected members of the legislature shall be measured in the popular eye.

Taking up the practice of European governments, the experience of Great Britain is especially interesting. From the English system one fact appears most plainly—the representative institutions of English colonies are operated almost universally by the white population.

In most cases the question which confronts the English legislator is comparatively simple: Is the colony inhabited by a sufficiently large number of whites to operate a representative government? If not, no representative form is established, but the district remains a Crown Colony, as in the case of the West African possessions. The Gold Coast, with a total population of 1,500,000; Sierra Leone, with a population of 136,000, and Lagos, with a population of 2,000,000, contain an average of about two hundred European inhabitants each.

If a considerable number of white inhabitants be present, a representative legislature is established; in Mauritius and the Bermudas the white population forms over one-third of the total. Additional examples are seen in Cyprus and British Guiana, while a variation from the rule, which, however, has been attended with doubtful results, is presented by the Island of Jamaica.

Next comes the question: How shall the control of the government be secured to the white inhabitants? If some of the natives are of a superior type, this class is admitted to

participation in the government, as is the case in Cyprus; if not, the natives are practically disregarded and the Europeans, which usually means the English majority, elect the legislature, as in British Guiana and the Bermudas. In the local, municipal and village governments natives are frequently allowed control, throughout the British system, even in Crown colonies where, as in India, no colonial representative legislature exists. But in all these cases the powers of the local town governments are limited and supervised by the appointed central government of the colony. These comparatively simple methods have resulted from centuries of experience gained through many costly mistakes. The British method of adapting suffrage qualifications to the degree of colonial independence is also of interest. A colony may have representative institutions, with universal suffrage, and yet enjoy so little real autonomy as to be less independent than some of the Crown colonies. It is not the liberality of the suffrage qualifications, but the scope of the powers given to the elected legislature which constitutes colonial autonomy. Independence consists not in the thought that every male twenty-one years of age may vote for representatives, but in the fact that the representatives, once elected, wield extended powers over the affairs of the colony. In solving this, the greatest problem of colonial government, the British have again resorted, after long years of experimentation, to comparatively simple methods.

Is the colony a prosperous one with the English residents forming an overwhelming majority in the electoral lists? If so, then the elected legislature is given free sway. The best examples are Canada and Australia. In the case of Cape Colony this rule has been departed from, since the English are not in a sufficient majority to run the government. The experience, however, has not been such as to encourge other departures from the rule.

If the colony is less prosperous, or if the English residents are not in a large majority, or, finally, if the general stand-

ard of civilization is not very high, the legislature is composed in such a way as to form some check upon the elected members. This result is usually obtained by an upper house appointed by the Crown, the lower house being elected by the people (Barbados, Bahamas, Natal, Bermudas).

Finally, a compromise between the two above-mentioned forms has been adopted in certain colonies which represent an intermediate stage of economic and racial development. This compromise consists in the establishment of a mixed legislative assembly, composed of appointed and elected members in the same body. In the more highly-developed colonies of this compromise class, where experience has shown that the legislature may be trusted to a considerable extent, the majority of the assembly is elected (Malta, Cyprus). Where the colonial legislature, it is feared, may come into collision with the interests of the Empire as a whole, the elected members are in the minority (British Guiana, Mauritius).

In the case of Jamaica, a highly-interesting form of government has been adopted. In ordinary times the elected members of the legislative council are in the majority, but the governor is empowered to enlarge provisionally the number of appointed members in the council so as to form a majority. This power is, however, only used in case of emergency, a recent instance being the crisis of 1899. In short, the degree of independence granted to the English colonies, and the powers of the elected members of the legislature, are tempered by the admixture of appointed members in degrees corresponding to the advancement of civilization, the economic prosperity, and especially the number of Englishmen on the voting lists.

Another important feature of modern colonial systems, which has almost escaped notice in the United States, is the influence necessarily exerted upon the growth of the national executive by the existence of a system of dependencies or

colonies. This change in the executive bears a close relation to the general question of colonial autonomy. One who makes even a hasty comparison of the European systems with our own, will be struck by the fact that the great colonial powers of Europe have, in one form or another, adopted the plan of permanent executive control over colonies, while we have thus far failed to do so, except in the Philippines, and even in this case executive control is regarded as a merely temporary expedient.

In the first years after the Spanish War, Congress showed by its general attitude considerable confidence in its ability to cope with the new questions of colonial administration. This confidence in the Federal Legislature was apparently shared by the other departments of the Government and by many of the people. As a result of this feeling and of the traditions of the people, little hesitation was shown in establishing a modified territorial form of government for Hawaii and Porto Rico, in which little or no provision was made for executive control. The temper of the American people in 1899 and 1900 was hardly such as to encourage permanent establishment of such a control, the leaven of so-called anti-imperialistic sentiment was quite strong, the Presidential campaign of 1900 was about to begin, and the general sentiment, therefore, seemed to favor a considerable degree of liberality in the matter of self-government for the dependencies, while the newness of the questions involved led to the policy of "government on the spot." The national executive was, therefore, freed as much as possible from the burden of insular government. In the organic law enacted for Porto Rico, on April 12, 1900, as well as in the organic act for Hawaii, passed April 30, 1900, there were surprisingly few provisions for control by the Federal Executive over the ordinary administration of the islands. While the President was given considerable power of appointment, especially in Porto Rico, little or nothing was said about his supervisory powers over the acts of the insular governments;

furthermore, the laws were interpreted in precisely the same spirit in which they had been enacted.

After the passage of the two laws above mentioned, the impression gradually grew that the problems confronting us were of greater complexity than had been anticipated. This became clear when Congress attempted to legislate for the Philippines. There at once arose such a divergence of views regarding the fundamental facts of the Philippine situation that the celebrated amendment to the Army Appropriation Bill of 1901 was adopted, providing that "All military, civil and judicial powers necessary to govern the Philippine Islands shall, until otherwise provided by Congress, be vested in such person and persons and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct, ..."

This method of dealing with the Philippine situation did not signify the abandonment of the policy of " government on the spot"; such a policy will probably continue to be a prominent feature of American methods in territorial or dependent government. The Anglo-Saxon is strong, not in devising governmental systems, but in operating them. The strength of the American system of dependencies lies not so much in the governmental machinery established, as in the individual Americans who have been sent out to manage insular affairs. The policy which has here been called, for want of a better name, " government on the spot," is one calculated to make interference or control by the home executive necessary only in affairs of the utmost importance. A few practical instances from Porto Rico and the Philippines illustrate this point admirably. The entire revenue system of Porto Rico has been revised and brought into harmony with modern principles of taxation, the department of public works, roads, bridges, etc., has been completely renovated, if not revolutionized, and a school system has been constructed from the foundations up; while an admirable code of laws—political, civil and criminal—has

been prepared and adopted. All this great task of regeneration has been planned and executed in the island itself.

The same general statement applies to a somewhat less extent in the Philippines. Owing to the continuance of military government, there has necessarily been a greater degree of central activity in the War Department at Washington, but with the increasing application of civil government throughout the archipelago, there has been an increased emphasis upon the policy of governing the islands from Manila rather than Washington. So we find a great number of what might be called "acts of fundamental organization" passed by the Philippine Commission, acts establishing departments, bureaus and divisions, general regulations of trade and commerce, laws establishing a complete system of local government, etc.—all these are in the best and highest sense "government on the spot." They do not answer the definition of colonial autonomy; they cannot satisfy the theoretical claims of colonial *independence*, nor will they be found satisfactory by those who believe that at all times, in all climates, temperate and tropical, and among all races, governments derive their just powers from the immediate consent of the governed. But if, as the American Declaration of Independence would seem to imply, governments are to be judged by their results, the American policy can hardly fail of approval. The question arises, however, to what degree will a control by the national executive become necessary in the future, and what may be its relations with the representative governments which have been established or are to be established in the dependencies? If a provisional answer may be hazarded to this question, it would seem that a considerable development of executive power will become necessary, not so much for the purpose of interfering with the ordinary detail of colonial administration, but rather to afford a great central clearing-house in which the experience gained in one dependency may be used in others.

It is clear that the United States may, from its peculiar trade relations and from the growth of its foreign commerce, be led at any moment into the acquisition or control of additional territory, whether for the purposes of protecting trade-routes, the opening of new routes, the guarantee of markets, or the preservation of order. Such an expansion must necessarily result in the development of a more highly developed system of central control. A glance at the English colonial system, or even at the recent history of our own dependencies, will show how delicate are the questions which, from time to time, arise in their government. A legislature, by reason of its collective nature, cannot handle these questions, nor should it be expected to do so; then, too, the dependent governments themselves must occasionally be stimulated by an impulse from the national life. This should be the function of the national executive, and it requires no prophetic vision to see that a material widening of executive powers will be the result.

To sum up briefly the conclusions drawn from this review of the question of colonial autonomy: (1) The importance of autonomy varies according to the economic and social condition of the dependency; in the early stage of colonial development it should be subordinated to the element of efficient government; (2) the degree of independence to be conferred upon each dependency should be determined largely by the nature of the suffrage qualifications and the extent to which an interesting system of local and municipal self-government exists; (3) the necessary control to be exerted by the mother country may take the form of approval or rejection of colonial acts in the mother country itself or by its representatives resident in the colony; the second method is preferable in those cases where the natives of the dependency have been led to regard autonomy as important; (4) the practice of leading countries, and particularly of Great Britain, has demonstrated the necessity of keeping the white population in control where possible, and where this is not possible

then of limiting the degree of colonial autonomy to be conferred; (5) the policy of governing each dependency on the spot has hitherto prevented any serious disturbance of the delicate balance of power between the executive and legislative departments of the United States Government, but the present tendency seems to indicate a growing preponderance of the national executive in territorial affairs.

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CONDITIONS AFFECTING THE SUFFRAGE IN COLONIES

The question of suffrage occupies a significant position in the general field of colonial government. While usually considered as a single problem, it is in reality made up of several important questions. In the first place, should suffrage qualifications be determined by the colony or by the mother country? On this point there is comparatively little difference of opinion. Since the home government is ultimately held responsible for the progress and development of the colony, it is only natural that the mother country should fix the suffrage qualifications in such a way as to subserve these ends and to prevent dangerous political disturbance. It is, therefore, only in the more advanced and highly-developed colonies, where political as well as economic progress has been attained, that the determination of these qualifications is to be safely entrusted to the colonial government. While Canada, for instance, is permitted to define her own suffrage qualifications, in the great body of English colonies these are determined by the imperial legislature. In the next place, it may be asked, are there certain conditions which require particular suffrage qualifications? Do tropical conditions call for a different arrangement of the suffrage than the temperate climates? Under what circumstances is a property or an educational qualification respectively required, and how far do racial characteristics enter into the determination of the franchise? While these questions cannot be answered satisfactorily by the formulation of general rules, it is, nevertheless, of interest to examine the various ways in which a solution has been attempted, as well as the degree of success obtained.

It will be generally agreed that where the resources of the colony are undeveloped and civilization has not advanced to any considerable extent, the suffrage qualifications should be

so arranged as to make it possible for only a small percentage of the population to vote. And, conversely, high economic and social development will lead to the inference of wide participation in the franchise. The basis of self-government being at hand, the natural product can be realized.

In fact, the real point at issue in all the questions propounded above is as to how far the system of government and the extent of the franchise necessarily involved in it are dependent upon economic conditions and upon racial characteristics. Or, to state the problem in still broader terms, how far are political questions dependent upon environment and upon heredity? Those two forces constantly interact upon one another—now one exerting the predominant influence and now the other. The state of industry, with its natural physical basis in such elementary conditions as soil, climate, surface and minerals, may have developed so far as to call forth latent powers in the population scarcely expected. With the development of commerce there comes an influx of democratic ideas due to the intermingling of various types of men through business interests.

Liberal ideas are bound to spread under these circumstances and political development is affected by the general democratic influences. This is but one instance, out of many, that might be chosen to illustrate the point. The nature of the suffrage qualifications must be largely modified by the environment, both on its industrial and physical side.

On the other hand, these environmental factors are slow in operating and sometimes exert little effect for long periods of time. Indeed, in some cases their influence may be hardly noticeable and the hereditary forces may long be uppermost in the struggle between the two. The attitude of mind and habits of thought developed by subjection to influences extended over long periods of time are extremely difficult to eradicate. They find expression in racial characteristics and are everywhere recognized as vitally affecting political government.

The relation of these different factors in the problem of suffrage is well brought out in English experience in colonial government. Before analyzing the influences affecting the suffrage qualifications in the new dependencies of the United States, it may be well to examine the conditions existing in some of the more important English colonies.

In Australia, the colonies of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland possess practically universal suffrage—there being neither a property nor an educational qualification for the election of members of the legislative assembly. The physical and social conditions which form the basis of this system are easily discernible. The climate is such as to permit the existence and survival of an efficient type of man, there is a well-organized system of industry, production has advanced to a point where general prosperity prevails and the resources of the colonies are well utilized. Sufficient means of communication have been established to disseminate common political ideas, to make possible common standards and general interests and to provide bonds for uniting the different parts of the country into a homogeneous whole. The character of the population denotes a considerable degree of intelligence and capacity for self-government, and the original inhabitants make up a very small percentage of the total population. With British subjects constituting almost the entire population, and with the consequent prevalence of English ideas and habits of thought representing a long and continuous development of civil and political liberty, it is possible to establish successfully a broad and liberal suffrage. Now if we contrast Australia with Jamaica, we observe a problem of a totally different character, a problem which has been solved by the establishment of a property qualification in order to exclude the incapable element from political activity. On account of social and physical conditions, the suffrage in a tropical colony frequently requires a different regulation from that in a more temperate dependency. The soil and climate affect the character of industry and type of man to be dealt

with, and this in turn reacts upon the political capacity of the individual. Jamaica's decline in fortune is now generally conceded to have been caused by lack of cheap, efficient labor, and the failure of the cane sugar industry. These have caused economic distress and consequent political discontent. In addition, the negro forms the great bulk of the population—the whites constituting only 2½ per cent of the total number of the inhabitants. England has therefore employed the property qualification to prevent the ultra-radical classes from securing political control. With the increasing decadence of economic conditions, even this safeguard has proved insufficient, and the powers of the elected legislators have been counteracted by the appointed members of the council.

In Cape Colony, also, the conditions are widely different, in some respects, from those prevailing in Australia and somewhat resemble, so far as the constituent elements of the population are concerned, the conditions existing in Jamaica. There is a fair degree of prosperity and the climate is more suited to a high type of labor than in Jamaica. The products are largely agricultural and pastoral, but in addition there is considerable mining and some slight attempt at manufacturing. Roads and railways have also been opened and materially aid the growth of industry. But the character of the population is altogether different from that of the Australian colonies. A glance at New South Wales, the foremost colony of Australia, will serve to illustrate this. In that colony, out of a population of over one million and a quarter, only seven thousand are aborigines and half-castes. But in Cape Colony three-fourths of the population are negroes or half-breeds, possessing little or no education. While about two-thirds of the European population are able to read and write, only 7 per cent of the colored races are so qualified. Under these conditions, therefore, a wide extension of the franchise would be incompatible with efficient government. The

property qualification was consequently prescribed, and no one allowed to be newly-registered as a voter who could not sign his name and write his address and occupation. England thus employed here both the property and educational qualifications to secure an intelligent and capable electorate.

Although our political ideals have been those of equality and political liberty, we have, nevertheless, consciously or unconsciously, followed the example set by Great Britain in the determination of suffrage qualifications for colonial dependencies. This is not to be attributed to imitation, but to the necessities of the case. However tenaciously a nation may cling to the ideal of political equality, such an ideal can only be realized in localities where the foundations of equality exist. Recognizing the force of this, the United States has employed the educational and property qualifications in fixing the conditions necessary for the enjoyment of the franchise in colonial possessions. As the educational test is exclusively employed in Hawaii, it will be discussed first.

Hawaii is the most favorably situated of the lands recently acquired by the United States. Aside from the fact that the islands had become extensively Americanized before their annexation, their physical environment is favorable to economic advance and political growth to a great degree unusual in a tropical country. Although situated in the tropics, the temperature is so modified by trade winds and ocean currents as to produce a climate distinctly different from other regions in the same latitude. The average temperature, 75 degrees, is thus probably reduced ten degrees below the normal temperature of countries similarly situated. Although the islands are mountainous and volcanic in origin, the soil is highly fertile and productive—the lava decomposing into rich red soils particularly adapted to the cultivation of sugar. This sound agricultural basis is of the first importance to Hawaii, as the comparative lack of coal and minerals prevents the extensive development of mining and

manufacturing industries. In fact, agriculture constitutes the industrial backbone of the islands, capital being almost exclusively engaged in the cultivation of sugar-cane. A reference to trade statistics will best illustrate the paramount importance of this product. In 1897, out of total exports to the value of $16,021,775, the exportation of sugar amounted to $15,390,223, while nearly one-quarter of the total population was employed on sugar plantations. Practically all of this trade went to the United States. The islands are thus dependent upon the market of the mainland and have become subject largely to American influences which are contributing much to the general prosperity and development of the country. In the establishment of railroads and better means of communication, American enterprise has also been brought to bear, although much still remains to be done in this direction.

Closely connected with the economic life, and the consequent political possibilities of Hawaii, are the labor conditions prevailing in the islands. This brings us to the general question of the population of the islands, its character and the relative numerical strength of its elements—a question upon which so much depends in the determination of suffrage qualifications. According to the census of 1896, the population of the islands amounted to 109,020. Of this number the Hawaiians came first with a population of 39,504; the Japanese second, 24,407; the Chinese third, 21,616; and the Portuguese fourth, 15,919. Only three thousand (3,086) are Americans, and Europeans constitute the remainder of the population. Although a small minority, the Americans have practically controlled the affairs of the island and, together with the British and Germans, managed the business relations of the archipelago. The bulk of the agricultural work is performed by the Japanese and Chinese, the native Hawaiians being averse to plantation labor and having a preference for personal service. One-half of the Japanese and over one-third of the Chinese are employed on

the sugar plantations. Originally the Hawaiians themselves worked on the plantations, but as the demand for agricultural labor increased after the expansion of the sugar industry in 1875, when a reciprocity treaty was made with the United States, they were unable to meet the new demands for labor, and the planters were therefore forced to look elsewhere for the required supply. An unfortunate experience in the violation of labor agreements led to the introduction of a contract system of labor, in order that the planters might be protected at a time when it was absolutely necessary that a sufficient supply of labor should be at hand to carry on the operations of the sugar industry. A proper understanding of this is necessary to explain the existence of such a large number of Asiatics on the islands, and the effect in turn upon industrial and political conditions. This contract system, which furnishes house rent and weekly wages of three dollars, attracts a comparatively low type of labor and sets a low standard of living. But a high political development of the islands can only be fully realized by the introduction of efficient labor and a high standard of life. The productive power of such labor is relatively much greater than the temporary additional expense entailed in increased wages. As has been shown, climatic conditions also are favorable to white labor, since the islands are tropical only in so far as latitude is concerned. However, the actual as well as the formal control of the islands by the United States, and the consequent probable application of American methods of industrial enterprise, will exert an influence tending to replace the lower type of labor for the higher and more efficient.

The natives, composing nearly two-fifths of the entire population, are necessarily an important factor in the social conditions prevailing in the islands. Upon their character will depend, in large part, the determination of the suffrage qualifications. The decrease in the number of natives, brought about chiefly by disease, has done much, however, to affect their importance in territorial affairs. Those

that have survived are of a kindly disposition and obedient to law, although not highly industrious. Naturally it is difficult to eradicate traits and dispositions acquired in a primitive state, and it would be unreasonable to expect no trace of them to remain. But great transformations have been wrought in the native through the combined influence of missionaries, intermarriage and education. The moderate treatment which he has received at the hands of foreigners was begun by the missionaries, and Christianity also accomplished much in modifying his naturally easy-going disposition. Intermarriage with Mongolians and Caucasians has considerably changed the physical and mental characteristics of the native, and helped to establish a community of interests throughout the island which reacts to the advantage of the community and native alike. Finally education, begun by the missionaries and afterwards undertaken by the government has materially benefited the native. A system of public schools (in which English is the medium of expression), high schools, colleges and industrial schools, have been established. Education is compulsory between the ages of six and fifteen, and one-eighth of the total budget is devoted to the support of the schools. Fifty per cent of the teachers are Americans, and American methods are employed in teaching. In consequence of this thorough attention to education, Hawaii has a high percentage of literacy, 64 per cent of the population being able to read and write. But, in reality, the percentage among the native Hawaiians is much higher (84 per cent), because the lack of education among the Asiatics and Portuguese reduces the general average. In this way a great transformation is being worked in the original native, making natives more intelligent and less intemperate. But naturally he still retains traces of the former indolence, and must undergo further development in order to assert himself in industry or politics.

These, then, were the chief industrial and social conditions

prevailing in the islands at the time of their annexation to the United States. From what has been said, it will be seen that Hawaii possessed factors which warranted some degree of local autonomy, although the conditions undoubtedly required a limitation of the suffrage in order to secure efficient government. The islands were prosperous because of their great sugar interests, which had been brought into close relation with the United States. The general level of education was also relatively high. There had been little governmental oppression, and a general community of interests was being formed. But the people had not sufficient training in self-government and the population contained a large number of Asiatics not in harmony with the best interests of the islands. The native, although intelligent, was not aroused to the full sense of industrial and political responsibilities. The Act of April 30, 1900, providing a government for the territory of Hawaii, attempts to meet these conditions. It confers a measure of local self-government, and, at the same time, employs means to bring the administration of Hawaiian affairs into harmony with American ideas and institutions. Although Hawaii is prosperous and educated, it is hardly necessary, in the light of the conditions just reviewed, to say that universal suffrage at present would not be in harmony with the best interests of the islands. The exclusion of the Asiatics, representing, as they do, the most un-American ideas, is essential, and is easily accomplished by permitting only citizens of the United States to vote. The extent, however, to which the native is to be enfranchised is another question altogether. Constituting two-fifths of the population, his position is totally different from that of the native in Australia, where England is able to permit manhood suffrage. He occupies, however, a position less important numerically than the colored race in Jamaica, where property, or in Cape Colony, where educational qualifications are provided. But his educational development is vastly superior to theirs, and the problem is,

therefore, less difficult to solve. Lack of industrial development and political training is his chief drawback. It is consequently necessary to exclude the most inefficient from political participation in order to secure order and stability in government. The means more often employed by England to accomplish this is the property qualification. But the United States has taken the view that intelligence in voting may be secured without insisting, at all times, upon the ownership of property.

Besides the usual qualifications of age, citizenship, residence and registration, the additional test of ability to speak, read and write the English language has been established. But it is a question whether, in the long run, more good would not have been accomplished by requiring stricter tests or qualifications of a different character. If the object is to enfranchise as many of the inhabitants as possible, then it is well enough to take that qualification—education—which is most generally enjoyed, as a basis for the exercise of the franchise. But if the policy has in mind the development of certain necessary qualities which are still in a rudimentary state, so that by this higher development a real step in the direction of progress can be made, then it is a wiser policy to require conditions for the exercise of the franchise, which, though necessary for progress, are perhaps not strongly developed in the population. In other words, a premium is put on that condition which is essential for further progress in the community, but which, by reason of a backward state of development, is not generally possessed in the community. To apply this thought, education is the condition that is generally possessed by the natives of Hawaii, but industrial development does not exist to the same extent. The native is rather easy-going, and lacks industrial efficiency. A proper qualification might thus encourage the native to further effort in the line most needed—that of industry—so that by the possession of property he could enjoy the franchise.

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Again, an educational test does not stand for the same national characteristics as a property qualification. With the ownership of property there usually goes a conservative disposition, but one may easily have the ability to read and write, and still lack the sense of political responsibility. In fact, a simple rudimentary education, such as mere ability to read and write, may often result in unsettled political ideas, unless accompanied by the disciplinary influence of industrial activity. Sound and efficient administration of government requires a certain measure of conservatism which the ownership of property almost invariably nourishes, because of the additional interests and responsibilities which its ownership entails.

The conditions in Porto Rico and the Philippines present to the United States a problem different in many respects from those of Hawaii. The long régime of Spanish influence in the former colonies, from which Hawaii was free, gave rise to distinctive economic, political and social characteristics, while the thoroughly tropical nature of the islands added a marked difference in the physical basis of government. Both possessions are situated in the heart of the tropics, Luzon being on the same parallel of latitude with Porto Rico. Since there are not as great modifying influences as in Hawaii, the climate is distinctly tropical, and the thermometer in Manila and San Juan frequently reaches 90 degrees, although the average temperature is lower in both cases. This fact produces a marked effect on individual vigor and industrial efficiency, reacting upon the welfare of the islands and placing them at a greater disadvantage than Hawaii. The soil is fertile and particularly adapted to the growth of tropical products. In the Philippines, the staple articles are hemp, copra from the cocoanut, sugar and tobacco. Together they constitute 97 per cent of the exports. In Porto Rico the most important products are coffee, sugar and tobacco, which constitute about 95 per cent of the exports. Some mineral deposits of coal, copper, gold and iron are known to

exist in both regions, but mines are not worked to any extent, in either. The islands, therefore, rely almost entirely upon agriculture as their principal source of industry and maintenance. But in this they have been handicapped and prevented from attaining a normal development, through lack of capital and efficient methods of production on the one hand, and the absence of a system of roads and communications on the other. The generally low level of industrial intelligence reacts upon the political life of the people and makes self-government difficult and precarious. To understand properly the situation as regards suffrage it will be well to examine briefly, in both territories, the general social conditions of the population.

The labor problem is a difficult one in the Philippine Islands. The native is an unsteady worker, not to be relied upon. A short spell of work is followed by an extended period of idleness, during which he enjoys the small amount accumulated from his labor. This dislike of systematic work has resulted in numerous industrial failures, and has finally led to the employment of Chinese labor. The low wages paid ranging from four to eight dollars per month, prevents all possibility of securing more efficient labor from other outside sources.

The factor of most vital political significance is the make-up and general character of the population. The number of inhabitants of the Philippine Islands is estimated at 8,000,000, and these are scattered over nearly 2,000 islands, with an area of over 164,000 square miles. They consist of about 25,000 Europeans and Americans, 125,000 Chinese and a great variety of tribes forming the great bulk of the population. These tribes belong to three races—the Negrito, Indonesian and Malayan. On account of the great number of tribes scattered over the archipelago, and beyond easy access in many instances, it is difficult to get an exact estimate of their relative numbers. But the Schurman Commission placed the number of Negritos at 25,000; the Indo-

nesians at 250,000 and the Malays at over six millions. The Negritos are short, black and of a primitive character, roaming around in the mountainous regions and manifesting no inclination for mental improvement. The Indonesians are light in color and physically superior to the Negritos, and some are rather intelligent. As these two races are, for the most part, indolent and peaceful, manifesting little preference for any particular form of government, the United States has had no serious trouble with them. The Malays are of medium height and commonly designated Filipinos. The Tagals and Visayans are the most important and dominant tribes of this race. They are rather industrious and patriotic, and from them has chiefly come the resistance to the United States. Taken together, these races are split up into more than eighty tribes; the numbers within the more advanced tribes are greater, taken as a whole, than those farther down in the scale of civilization. The most undeveloped are deficient, both morally and mentally, and manifest cunning, treachery and cruelty. Polygamy and slavery have also been practiced by them. On the other hand, the more advanced tribes are Christianized and possess considerable mental capacity. While these tribes are fewer in number, they, nevertheless, constitute the majority of the population. It is this striking difference in tribal characteristics that accounts for such radically different estimates of the character of the natives that have been frequently given. It is almost impossible to arrive at a general characterization of the people that will not reflect what is true of only a portion of the population.

It is frequently asserted that the Filipinos, in so far as natural capacity is concerned, possess the possibilities of advancement, present a fair degree of civilization—having embraced Christianity—and become more or less acquainted with many civilized customs and usages. But, at the same time, no one denies that ignorance and illiteracy prevail almost every where. This is due to the most inadequate system of public

instruction formerly provided by the Spanish authorities. According to the former law, every five thousand inhabitants were to be provided with one male and one female teacher—instruction to boys and girls being given separately. That is, for every twenty-five hundred inhabitants there should be one teacher. But even this inadequate provision was not carried out. The report of the Schurman Commission shows that there was only one teacher for every 4,179 inhabitants and where the population was densest, the lack of educational facilities was greatest. In failing to establish sufficient schools and excusing parents on that ground from sending their children to school, the Spanish law rather aided the spread of illiteracy than the growth of education. The small compensation paid to teachers likewise acted to the disadvantage of the educational system by preventing the proper type of individual from entering the field. A comprehension of these deficiencies in the school system will make clear the ability of the Filipino for self-government and the proper exercise of the franchise.

It is almost a truism to say that the success of democratic principles applied to government depends primarily upon the educational opportunities of the masses, or that where such are lacking, the possibility of a widely-extended suffrage and local self-government is vague and shadowy. Therefore, the problem of the United States in establishing the required educational foundation, is one of the most important factors in its successful solution of the Philippine suffrage problem. Already attempts are being made to bring about improvement in this direction. A centralized school system with adequate means of instruction and school facilities, with a language basis of English, is being inaugurated and will finally exercise a potent influence in the up-building of the islands.

But there are other elements, besides illiteracy, making a widely extended franchise impracticable. Attention has already been called to the great number of tribes existing in the islands, which makes it impossible for the people to

become an unified nation. They are only an aggregation of different groups with diverse languages, laws and customs. No national homogeneity can be realized while such fundamental differences exist. There is no consistent basis on which to build. The people are still largely in the tribal stage of development and their sympathies are confined to the narrow unit. The concept of nationality has remained undeveloped in them.

Another difficulty in the political situation is their lack of actual experience in the art of government. Under the Spanish régime, the system of administration was one of complete centralization and almost no opportunity was given to the vast majority of the inhabitants to secure political training. The suffrage was so restricted that only an insignificant portion of the population was admitted to the electoral body. In the towns, where the elections occurred, only those that were known as the "principalia" were permitted to vote. This body was made up of past and present office-holders and individuals paying an annual land tax of fifty dollars. The right of those who paid a tax of equal amount on personal property, or an equal sum in the form of business taxes, and the right of professional men to vote, was not recognized. Thus, only the intensely conservative classes were admitted to the franchise, and individuals thoroughly capable of exercising this privilege were disqualified. The radical and even the progressive elements of the people were excluded from the franchise. But the voting power possessed by the principalia amounted to little on account of the highly-centralized system of administration in the government of the archipelago, whereby the Governor-general and his subordinates controlled the actions of the local bodies. The free expression of the popular will was also hindered by the close connection between the religious orders and the state, whereby the friars exercised so strong an influence in political affairs.

With this résumé of the conditions in the islands, we are

able to see the difficulties to be confronted in any attempt to establish real representative government. We can understand, in some degree, the forces which should influence the determination of the suffrage qualifications. These qualifications at present consist, according to the enactment of the United States Philippine Commission, of the usual requisites of age, citizenship and residence, together with any one of the following special qualifications: (1) Ownership of real property to the value of 500 pesos or annual payment of at least thirty pesos of the established taxes; or (2) ability to speak, read and write the English or Spanish language; or (3) former tenure of certain official positions. The United States, therefore, has relied mainly upon the property or educational qualifications in attempting to secure an efficient electorate. Considering the great lack of industrial development, the general illiteracy in the islands, and the composite character of the population, with little, if any, political training for the masses, the conditions imposed are not burdensome. In fact, the question is whether they are stringent enough. It is safe to say that the English, would not, under such circumstances, have extended the franchise with such liberality. A "crown colony" form of government would probably have been provided at first. It seems to be intended for just such a territory, with undeveloped resources and a composite and untrained population. But it must be remembered, however, that the qualifications named apply only to the election of local officers. Nevertheless, even here, the advisability of such a policy is questionable. The attempted solution is only experimental after all, and experience has proved that in political experiments it is better to err on the safe side. That is, the imposition of strict conditions at first, in the exercise of the franchise and the gradual removal of the restraints, seem to yield better results than the pursuance of an opposite policy. The United States, in her missionary work of training politically undeveloped people for self-government, has taken an optimistic view of the

situation, but hereditary incapacity, the accumulated growth of generations, must be given due weight and consideration.

Turning now to Porto Rico, where the educational or property qualification is also optional, a similar examination will be made of the conditions which must determine the success or failure of the system of popular suffrage. Its physical basis has already been noticed. Like the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico is a tropical country possessed of abundant natural resources for the pursuit of agriculture. In fact, mining and manufacturing occupy an insignificant position in the island, the great majority of the people being employed in agricultural lines. The exact social condition of these laborers, and the general character of the population, will be of interest.

By the Spanish census of 1897, the population of Porto Rico was 890,820. They were divided into three classes—the whites, the mixed or mulattoes, and the blacks or pure-blooded negroes. The whites were considerably in the majority, constituting at that time about 64 per cent (573,096) of the entire population. The mulattoes numbered 27 per cent (241,895), and the pure negroes only 9 per cent (75,829). These last two classes are the survivors and descendants of those who were slaves in 1873, at which time they were set free. At the recent census taken by the United States, the make-up of the population was found to be essentially the same—the whites constituting over three-fifths of the number of the inhabitants. But there was an increase of 7 per cent in the total population, which now numbered 953,243.

It is shown by this census that Porto Rico is about as thickly populated as New Jersey, having 264 persons to the square mile. This is seven times as dense as Cuba's population. The census also shows that the percentage of people living in villages and rural districts is 91.3—which is a much greater proportion than in the United States, where only 7 per cent are in the rural districts. There are only two cities

with a population of over 25,000—San Juan with 32,000 and Ponce with 28,000.

The bulk of the people depend upon daily wages as a means of livelihood and, as stated, are agricultural laborers. These farm-hands are known as "peons" and are wretchedly paid—the usual wage being from thirty to forty cents a day during the busy season. They are ignorant, but polite, kind-hearted and sociable. They live, for the most part, in huts built of bark, sticks and canes, and almost destitute of furniture. A family of five or six occupies such a house of from two to three rooms. They are poorly clad and insufficiently fed on a diet of rice, plantains and occasionally, codfish. Wages are paid them at times in the form of paper-notes or tickets drawn upon the store of the proprietor, where prices are higher than in the towns. The laborer thus gets still less value for his money. The standard of living is consequently extremely low, and the natural result of being poorly housed, clothed and fed is manifested in the character of the labor, which is poor and lacks energetic motive. The people seem desirous, however, of obtaining employment, and it is claimed that it is the lack of capital which accounts for these adverse industrial conditions. Capital, then, is essential for the improvement of the laborer, and, as Commissioner Carroll says, "it is manifest that the great object to be gained (in the up-building of Porto Rico) is the raising of the working classes to a higher level of intelligence, of efficiency as laborers, of power and intelligence as citizens, and of comfort and enjoyment as social creatures." The condition of the artisans, living generally in towns, is an improvement over that of the agricultural laborers. Their wages are higher, ranging from $1.25 to $1.50 a day, and they are consequently better provided for and more intelligent.

The status of education in Porto Rico has been deplorable and the degree of illiteracy enormous. Reading and writing were unknown to the laborer, and education has been one

of the greatest needs of the island. By the recent United States census it was shown that 83.2 per cent of the population were absolute illiterates, and that 14.5 per cent could both read and write, while about ½ per cent had a higher education. The reason for this extent of illiteracy is the very simple one of inadequate educational facilities, and inefficient methods of instruction. The system of education under the Spanish régime was most incomplete and the appropriations devoted to educational purposes most inadequate. No proper schools were provided and no sufficient educational appliances furnished. Ordinary houses were used for school purposes and teachers often neglected their duties for personal or domestic reasons. Under the circumstances, therefore, the illiteracy was a natural product of existing conditions. But the advent of the United States into the field has already worked great changes, and by constant and persistent effort the educational status of the inhabitants is being gradually raised.

From these economic and social conditions, it can readily be inferred that high expectations on the score of a liberal voting franchise would be unjustifiable in Porto Rico. Furthermore, Spain has never been noted for inculcating ideas and habits leading to political ability and independence. It has always been that nation's policy to administer governmental affairs as much as possible without consulting the wishes of the people. Particularly is this true of her colonial provinces.

There is not found in the Spanish system that regard for the welfare, for the economic and political independence of the colonists, that have characterized, whether voluntarily or not, the Anglo-Saxon development. As a rule, of late years, even with Crown colonies, the English government has not simply considered imperial benefit, regardless of popular interests. When there has been a clash of interests, the British government has, of course, often forced its view upon the colonies. But the whole line of English develop-

ment has been to raise the political standard of the people and to enlarge gradually their sphere of influence. It is true that this may be due as much to the political genius of the Anglo-Saxon as to the character of the British government itself. But, nevertheless, there has been manifested a spirit of compromise, even if forced by the nature of circumstances; there has been a willingness to recognize the force of facts which has led the government to conform to popular interests and to accept the inevitable before disastrous results occurred. This has been characteristic of English institutions. But with the Spaniard another type of man and government has been disclosed.

Government seems to be regarded more as an extraneous force and not as the natural outcome of social conditions. It is used for purposes of class or personal benefit and aggrandizement. Not only did the condition of the colonists of Porto Rico help to bring about a form of government practically destitute of local autonomy, but the government itself was so constituted and administered as to foster that end. A strong system of centralization deprived the colony of any degree of local independence and invested the government officials with authority to exert their influence in their own behalf regardless of popular interests. Thus the franchise, even if it had been widely extended under the Spanish régime, could have accomplished little real political training.

These considerations will throw light upon the suffrage problem and aid in furnishing a basis for rational judgment on the question. In addition to the usual age, citizenship and residence qualifications, the United States has provided an alternative property or educational test; that is, the ownership of real estate or of personal property to the value of twenty-five dollars, or ability to read and write, entitles any qualified person to vote. In these requirements, the United States attempted to regard, in part, the actual conditions existing in the island. Porto Rico, we have seen, does not enjoy a large measure of industrial prosperity and a general

diffusion of intelligence, which are necessary to make universal suffrage and general political independence successful. With 83 per cent of the total population unable to read and write, and a large mass of the agricultural laborers living on the margin of existence, with a generally low standard of life and the lack of development which that implies, it was necessary to debar the most incapable from participation in political activity. The property or educational test was intended to accomplish this purpose. But, in placing the property qualification at so low a value, and in permitting the educational test to be substituted for it, the greatest liberality was granted.

Although in time, with the establishment of the American educational system in the island, and the probable rapid growth of industry, brought about by an influx of American capital and by the development of an American market for Porto Rican goods, such qualifications may prove workable, at present it is doubtful whether the best results can be attained with these simple requisites. The property qualification, placed at so low a figure, is practically worthless as a check to the industrially undesirable. It cannot be a real safeguard, as it is not high enough to insure the likelihood of capacity and ability in those possessing it. Indeed, the purpose of the law may be easily frustrated by the ease with which such a small amount of property may be transferred from one to another. This appears actually to have been done in many cases, even at this early date. In short, the educational test is alternative with the property qualification, and the latter can be evaded. It must also be remembered that the hereditary impediments in the way of good administration are great and difficult to overcome. Anything which gives a loop-hole for the free play of this defective side, before the regenerating power of education has been given time to work, is a menace to the best interests of the island. It is not meant to imply that such must necessarily or immediately be the result of the policy pursued in

Porto Rico, but that instability of administration may arise at any moment from these causes.

From this discussion, regarding the conditions to be considered in the American dependencies in connection with the suffrage problem, it may be seen how varied are the factors in the determination of our new colonial questions. Suffrage is not a thing to be studied separately and apart by itself; it has a natural basis in the physical and industrial conditions of the environment on the one hand, and in the racial characteristics constituting heredity on the other. Any system of suffrage, therefore, which is not based upon these fundamental conditions, must sooner or later prove unsatisfactory if not disastrous. Looked at from this point of view, the idea that abstract or "American" principles *per se* can be imposed upon a newly-acquired territory is seen to be fallacious, and the necessity of permitting local conditions to determine for themselves, to a greater extent, the real content of political institutions, is apparent. We are able to see also the truth of the expression that "democracy is rather a stage of development than a form of political organization. "We must abandon the *a priori* solution of the suffrage question and search deeper in the motives governing political action.

In American dependencies, therefore, where the conditions are so different from those on the mainland, the question of applying our political ideas and standards to their inhabitants is a very serious one. Qualities which we take for granted and upon which we build our whole political system are often lacking in the other races. The spirit of compromise, for instance, is undeveloped in the native, and this fact constitutes a serious drawback to popular government. The personal element, also, is continually thrown in the foreground, and individuals, rather than issues, are attacked and defended. Since, therefore, the native is not fully prepared for all our political institutions, we must apply only those which have a prospect of successful operation.

Finally, in weighing the relative value of educational, property and other tests for particular cases, and in considering from a critical standpoint the suffrage qualifications adopted by the United States for its new possessions, there is one point which deserves especial emphasis, viz., the exact nature of the legislative questions immediately confronting the various insular governments. The query, What shall be the suffrage qualifications of voters? in any particular case, is closely related to that other question, Upon what measures is the elected legislature to act? There are epochs in the development of every society, whether colonial or metropolitan, when, in order to avert social shipwreck, the conservative classes must control public policy; but there are also other periods when, to prevent decay or stagnation, it is equally important that the progressive or radical factors of society be allowed free play. At a given moment, the participation of large masses of the people may be a vital necessity to insure the adoption of essential laws, and in such cases the restriction of the suffrage to the ultra conservative classes would be disastrous. The application of this principle is clearly seen in Porto Rico and the Philippines. In Porto Rico the political agitation and unrest, incident to the change from Spanish to American sovereignty, has been slight as compared with the conditions of Cuba and the Philippine Archipelago. The island has not been rent by destructive military factions nor by guerrilla warfare. While there was at one time some disorder and destruction of property, resulting from the popular feeling of hostility towards the large Spanish landholders, yet in the main the propertied classes have been left in possession of their holdings. The reforms which must necessarily be introduced under the American régime would naturally be opposed by some of the large property-holders and advocated by the less favorably situated classes of the population. The impossibility of securing the introduction of these sweeping measures of reorganization, if suffrage had been confined to the most conser-

vative classes, is therefore apparent. The more radical elements of the community may require considerable guidance, and may even present difficulties in the future management of the government, but the services which they have rendered in welcoming the introduction of important legislative measures of vital importance to Porto Rico cannot be forgotten. In the Philippines, on the contrary, a long period of social chaos in extensive portions of the islands has made it impossible for stable political institutions to take firm root. The important need in the archipelago is, therefore, not alone the introduction of governmental reforms, but the general and complete acceptance by all classes of the people of the present régime and the establishment of order. For this purpose the co-operation of the conservative classes is especially essential. Little progress can be made toward the development of the islands until the sympathy and activity of these influential elements of the population are enlisted upon the side of the government. This result is now being obtained, and in order to secure its full realization it would seem especially important to emphasize those qualifications for the suffrage which tend to secure conservatism.

HENRY R. BURCH.

Philadelphia.

EDITORIAL.

With this issue of the ANNALS two changes occur in the Editorial Board. When Professor Seager accepted a call to the faculty of Columbia he resigned the editorship of the ANNALS, because the editorial work must of necessity be done in Philadelphia, where the publication offices are located.

The Board of Directors accepted Professor Seager's resignation with sincere regret. Having a mind richly endowed with both the constructive and critical faculties, his editorial work has been of a high order. Dr. Seager's connection with the ANNALS began in January, 1896, when he became editor of the Book Department. He managed that department with literary discrimination and with much success for three years, when he was advanced to the position of Associate Editor. When Professor Roland P. Falkner resigned the editorship of the ANNALS, at the close of the year 1900, Professor Seager was elected to the position, and to him more than to any other person is due the success which the publication has enjoyed during the past year and a third.

The selection of one of the Associate Editors for Editor-in-Chief caused a vacancy which the Board of Directors filled by choosing Dr. James T. Young, who has been connected with the Book Department since January, 1899, and who has edited the Department of Colonies and Colonial Government since the establishment of that feature of the ANNALS in the issue of January, 1901. Dr. Young's duties in connection with these departments have familiarized him with the work and needs of the ANNALS, and the Academy is fortunate in securing his larger co-operation. He will continue to have direct charge of the Department of Colonies and Colonial Government.

PERSONAL NOTES.

Chicago University.—Mr. Alleyne Ireland has recently been appointed Colonial Commissioner of the University of Chicago. Mr. Ireland sailed from Vancouver on the 24th of March for the Orient, where he is to make an exhaustive study of the questions of colonial government.

Mr. Ireland was born in Manchester, England, but has spent much of the time for many years in travel. Several years of his life have been passed in the tropics, where he has made a careful study of the subject of colonization. Mr. Ireland is a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and of the Statistical Society of England. His published works include:

"*Demerariana: Essays, Historical, Critical and Descriptive.*" 1897.

"*Tropical Colonization: An Introduction to the Study of the Subject.*" 1899.

"*The Government of Tropical Colonies.*" Supplement, ANNALS of the American Academy, May, 1899.

"*The Anglo-Boer Conflict: Its History and Causes.*" 1900.

Mr. Ireland has also been a frequent contributor to American journals —Atlantic Monthly, North American Review, Forum and other periodicals. During the past two years he has lectured before several institutions on the general subject of Tropical Colonization.

Columbia University.—Doctor Henry R. Seager[1] has resigned his position of Assistant Professor of Political Economy at the University of Pennsylvania, and has accepted the position of Adjunct Professor of Political Economy in Columbia University. His duties in Columbia University will begin with the opening of the coming academic year.

Mr. Seager has published the following papers:

"*German Universities and German Student Life.*" The Inlander, June, 1892.

"*Economics at Berlin and Vienna.*" Journal of Political Economy, March, 1893.

"*Philippovich's Grundriss der Politischen-Oekonomie.*" ANNALS, July, 1893.

"*Pennsylvania Tax Conference.*" *Ibid.*, March, 1894.

"*Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association.*" *Ibid.*, March, 1895.

[1] Vol. viii, p. 153. July, 1896.

"*Malloch's Labour and the Popular Welfare*, and *Dyer's The Evolution of Industry*." The Citizen, June, 1895.

"*Cunningham's Outlines of English Industrial History*." ANNALS, January, 1896.

"*Bruce's Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*." *Ibid.*, 1896.

"*The Fallacy of Saving*." Supplement to Economic Studies, American Economic Association, April, 1896.

"*Smart's Studies in Economics*." The Citizen, August, 1896.

"*Stray Impressions of Oxford*." The Pennsylvanian, February, 1897.

"*Higgs' The Physiocrats*." ANNALS, July, 1897.

"*Gibbins' Industry in England*." *Ibid.*, September, 1897.

"*Bullock's Introduction to the Study of Economics*." *Ibid.*, November, 1897.

"*The Consumers' League*." Bulletin of American Academy, April, 1898.

"*George's Political Economy*." Political Science Quarterly, December, 1898.

"*Devine's Economics*." ANNALS, March, 1899.

"*Hull's The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty*." *Ibid.*, May, 1900.

"*Smart's The Distribution of Income*." *Ibid.*, July, 1900.

"*Clark's The Distribution of Wealth: A Theory of Wages, Interest and Profits*." *Ibid.*, September, 1900.

Editorial. *Ibid.*, January, 1901.

"*Meeting of American Economic Association*." *Ibid.*, March, 1901.

"*Professor Patten's Theory of Prosperity*." *Ibid.*, March, 1902.

Editorial. *Ibid.*

"*Meeting of American Economic Association*." *Ibid.*

"*Crowell's The Distribution and Marketing of Farm Products*." Report of United States Industrial Commission, Vol. VI, 1901. Political Science Quarterly, March, 1902.

Mr. Alvin Saunders Johnson,[1] at present Reader in Economics at Bryn Mawr College, Pa., has been appointed Tutor in Economics at Columbia University, New York City. His work in Columbia will begin at the opening of the coming academic year.

Columbian University, Washington, D. C.—Dr. Max West,[2] Associate Professor of Economics in the Graduate School, has been granted a leave of absence for the second half of the current academic year, having been recalled to Columbia University, New York City,

[1] Vol. xviii, p. 492, November, 1901.

[2] Vol. xvi, p. 274, September, 1900.

to finish a course of lectures on Practical Political Economy begun by Dr. Elgin R. L. Gould before his appointment by Mayor Low as City Chamberlain.

From December, 1900, until February, 1902, Dr. West was employed as an expert agent of the United States Industrial Commission. A list of his writings appeared in the ANNALS for September, 1900. Since that list was compiled he has published:

"*The Income Tax and the National Revenues.*" Journal of Political Economy, September, 1900.

"*The Fourteenth Amendment and the Race Question.*" American Journal of Sociology, September, 1900.

"*Social Statistics of Working Women.*" Labor Bulletin of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, May, 1901.

"*Taxation of the Farmer.*" National Conference on Taxation, 1901.

"*The Taxation of Church Property.*" Ethical Record, January, 1902.

"*Topical Digest of Testimony,*" *etc.* Reports of the Industrial Commission, vol. x (Agriculture).

Dr. Frank R. Rutter has been appointed Lecturer on Economics in the Graduate School of Columbian University, and has charge of the graduate work in Economics during the absence of Dr. West. Dr. Rutter was born at Baltimore March 15, 1874. He obtained his collegiate and graduate training at the Johns Hopkins University, receiving the degrees of A B. in 1894 and Ph. D. in 1897, and holding the Fellowship in Economics during 1896–97. After a year's work in the editorial division of the United States Geological Survey he was appointed in May, 1899, Assistant Chief of the Section of Foreign Markets in the Department of Agriculture. Dr. Rutter has published:

"*South American Trade of Baltimore.*" Johns Hopkins University Studies, fifteenth series, No. ix. Pp. 87.

"*Some Effects of Recent Sugar Tariff Legislation.*" Proceedings American Association for the Advancement of Science, vol. xlvii (Abstract).

"*Geographical Aspect of our Foreign Trade.*" *Ibid.*, vol. xlix (Abstract).

Leland Stanford University.—Professor S. J. McLean[1] has been appointed to the position of Assistant Professor of Economics in Leland Stanford University. In June of 1901 Professor McLean was appointed by the Canadian Government Commissioner of Railway Rate Grievances. The report prepared on that subject has been printed as a Parliamentary paper.

[1] Vol. xviii, p. 491. November, 1901.

University of Wisconsin.—Professor Dana Carleton Munro[1] has resigned his position in the University of Pennsylvania and has accepted the Chair of European History in the University of Wisconsin. That chair will be vacated next September by Professor Charles H. Haskins, who has accepted a call to Harvard University. Professor Munro has been a member of the Executive Committee of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools since 1896, and as Secretary edited the proceedings of that Association in 1897 and 1898. He is a member of the American Philosophical Society and of the American Historical Association. He has now ready for the press a "History of the Middle Ages," to be published in the Twentieth Century Series. A large part of Professor Munro's literary work has consisted in editing the series of translations and reprints published by the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvauia. The reprints edited by Professor Munro in that series comprise the following:

Vol. IV, No. 1. "*The Early Christian Persecutions.*" Pp. 30. 1897.

Vol. VI, No. 5. "*Selections from the Laws of Charles the Great.*" Pp. 33. 1899.

Vol. I, No. 2. "*Urban and the Crusaders.*" Pp. 24. Revised editions.

Vol. I, No. 4. "*Letters of the Crusaders.*" Pp. 42. Revised edition.

Vol. II, No. 3. "*The Medieval Student.*" Pp. 21. Revised edition.

Vol. II, No. 4. "*Medieval Sermon-Stories.*" Pp. 20. Revised edition.

Vol. III, No. 1. "*The Fourth Crusade.*" Pp. 20. Revised edition.

"*Syllabus of Medieval History.*" 1899. Revised edition. 1900.

"*The Attitude of the Western Church towards the Study of the Latin Classics in the Early Middle Ages.*" Proceedings of the American Society of Church History. 1897.

"*Christian and Infidel in the Holy Land.*" International Monthly, November and December, 1901.

[1] Vol. viii, p. 153, July, 1896.

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES.

BABINGTON'S "THE REFORMATION"[1] is another of the already long list of works on that subject. It is written, as he himself says, "not for professed students of history or theology," and consequently has gone over no new ground, but is simply a representation, in a popular style, of the progress and development of the Reformation. An introductory chapter pictures the condition of the Church before 1500. Another chapter is devoted to the doctrine and principles of the Reformation. The remaining seven describe the movement in Germany, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Geneva and France, the Low Countries, England and Scotland. The manner of treatment is clear and at times quite forcible. But the book is written from the Protestant standpoint, which finds little but vice in the pre-Reformation Church and little but absolute justification of all the Reformation movements. It cannot, therefore, be considered as an absolutely impartial authority. But keeping this in mind, the student who is making his acquaintance with that period in history can find Babington a useful text-book.

HILAIRE BELLOC'S "ROBESPIERRE, A STUDY,"[2] is very similar in method and scope to the author's work on Danton. It is, as he himself tells us, an attempt to explain Robespierre. All pretentions at the usual historic method of presentation by reference and illustrations from the sources in foot-notes are frankly disavowed. The work is an attempt to present in a vivid, picturesque manner the life and work of this great central figure of the Revolution. The author's imagination is often allowed much greater freedom than his preface would lead one to expect, so that the work, although interesting, is not the conservative or trustworthy life of Robespierre the English public has for some time been awaiting. The notes at the conclusion of the volume on the authenticity of the "Memoirs of Charlotte Robespierre" and on "Robespierre's Supposed Attempt at Suicide" merit special attention.[3]

[1] *The Reformation: A Religious and Historical Sketch.* By Rev. J. A. BABINGTON, M. A. Pp. x, 362. Price, $4.00. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1901.

[2] Pp. xiii, 387. Price, $2.00. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

[3] Contributed by W. E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania.

CABINET GOVERNMENT in England[1] has been frequently described in individual chapters of general treatises, but the historical development of the cabinet has never been traced in detail. Miss Blauvelt's monograph contains a discussion of the Privy Council in its original form and later development, the growth of a strong committee within the Council, the hostility of members of Parliament toward this ring, or cabal, and the attempts to defeat its formation. Sir William Temple's plan to legalize the cabinet and the failure of this plan are also discussed. Then follows a lengthy and detailed history of the position occupied by the inner circle of the Council during the conflicts between the Whigs and Tories, the increasing ascendency of the Junto over the King, the development of the doctrine of royal impersonality, which gave even more power to the clique of royal advisers, the succession of weak sovereigns, which also tended to increase the power of the cabinet, the growth of the doctrine of ministerial responsibility, the rise of the office of prime minister, the influence of Pitt upon the growth of ministerial power, and, finally, the evolution of the unity of the cabinet. The author is of the opinion that the growing tendencies toward bureaucracy would seem to indicate that the cabinet is not in its final stage of development. The work is of an exclusively historical nature, which fact forms at once its strength and weakness. No description of the British Cabinet could be complete without considerable use of historical material, but, on the other hand, a monograph on the cabinet should include a discussion on the peculiar characteristics of the institution, and its practical operation at the present time.

THE FOUR OR FIVE little volumes[2] which have recently been added to the Socialist Library, inaugurated about two years ago in Paris, are almost without exception excellent summaries of the subjects treated. Number 5 contains a sketch of the life and doctrine of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon; numbers 6 and 7, a history of labor congresses and socialistic congresses in France since 1876; number 8, a new French translation of Marx and Engels' Communistic Manifesto; and number 9, a historical introduction and commentary to the Communistic Manifesto.

[1] The Development of Cabinet Government in England. By MARY TAYLOR BLAUVELT, M. A. Pp. 300. Price, $1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902.

[2] *Bibliothèque Socialiste.* No. 5, *Proudhon.* By HUBERT BOURGIN. Pp. 97. Price, *50 c.* Nos. 6 and 7, *Les Congrès Ouvriers et Socialistes Français.* By LÉON BLUM, 1876–1900. Pp. 199. Price, 1 *fr.* Nos. 9 and 10. *Le Manifeste Communiste. Introduction Historique et Commentaire.* By CHARLES ANDLER. Pp. 209. Price, 1 *fr.* Paris: Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Edition, 1901.

Although the two numbers containing an account of labor congresses duplicate in many respects the previous publications of M. Léon de Seilhac, yet the present sketch, by M. Léon Blum, will prove valuable to the student of French labor movements. It is a clear and withal comprehensive account of the circumstances which led up to and surrounded the successive congresses, and of the results accomplished, or, as was more frequently the case, not accomplished, by each. It is to be regretted, however, that the author does not confine himself always to a simple narration of facts, but occasionally offers his own subjective interpretation of them.

The little brochure on Proudhon, by Hubert Bourgin, is compact, well written, judicious, and apparently reliable; it is written, of course, from a socialistic standpoint.

The most important addition to the collection thus far, however, is M. Charles Andler's Introduction and Commentary to the Communistic Manifesto. This manifesto is unquestionably one of the most important, if not the most important, historic document of the kind ever written. It has contributed powerfully to the formation and evolution of the socialistic doctrine elaborated by Marx and Engels—the socialism which appears to have the firmest scientific foundations, and the greatest political importance, on the European continent. M. Andler's introduction shows the exact historic position of the manifesto, while the commentary takes its paragraphs, one after the other, and explains allusions to facts which, in 1847, were familiar to everybody, but which now are no longer so. The author also attempts to illuminate the doctrine underlying the manifesto, and to point out the contradictions and obscurities it contains. He thus practically gives a résumé of the Marxist doctrine from the viewpoint of one who is thoroughly familiar with Marx and the evolution of German social theories. This familiarity M. Andler has demonstrated in his book on the "Origins of State Socialism in Germany," published five years ago. [1]

ÉMILE BOUTMY, the founder of the École Libre de Science Politique, has written an interesting study on the political psychology of the American people,[2] in which he discusses the origin and growth of the national idea in America, the idea of local patriotism, developed through great sacrifices in the war of 1776, the gradual rise of a central state which absorbs the patriotic impulses of the people, the relig-

[1] Contributed by Dr. C. W. A. Veditz, Lewiston, Maine.

[2] *Éléments d'une Psychologie Politique du Peuple Américain.* By ÉMILE BOUTMY. Pp. 367. Price, 4 *fr.* Paris: Armand Colin, 1902.

ious views of the people which, he rightly says, are characterized by ethical standards rather than by theological dogmas, and the new tendency towards imperialism. The book is replete with all those charming analogies, figures of speech, epigrams and witticisms which characterize French literary style at its best. M. Boutmy has also touched upon several fundamental truths in his analysis of our political ideals; prominent among these is his critical discussion of American patriotism. The great masses of the people have made little sacrifice to the national ideal, and this has, perhaps, led them to regard their governments, both state and national, in a much less serious way than did the men of '76 or '65.

The reader misses that close familiarity with the physical and economic bases of political psychology which was shown by the author in his corresponding volume on the English people. This is doubtless due to the fact that M. Boutmy's acquaintance with English conditions was much more intimate than with those of the United States. The work certainly deserves translation, and would doubtless be warmly welcomed in an English edition, provided the delightful qualities of style could be preserved.

M. BRY'S "HISTOIRE INDUSTRIELLE ET ÉCONOMIQUE DE L'ANGLETERRE"[1] is an interesting and careful *résumé* of the work of English and German scholars in this field; it is important because it reflects the improved tone of economic study in France. It carries with it evidence that political economy has lost nothing by the creation of the professorships in that subject in the French Faculties of Law. The work is intended primarily for students of history. In form, it bears the characteristics of a manual. For this purpose the author has made good use of his material.

THE EXTREME MATERIALISM represented by Professor Louis Buechner's name is just a trifle out of date. A French translator, however, has been found for his volume of essays.[2] The book is pretentious in everything except size. It treats of Science, Philosophy, Materialism, Religion, Spiritism, Politics, Anarchy, the Social Question, Feminism, the Jewish Question, Literature and Arts, all in a hun-

[1] *Histoire Industrielle et Économique de L'Angleterre depuis les Origines jusqu'à nos Jours.* Par GEORGES BRY, Professeur a l'Université D'Aix-Marseille, Doyen de la Faculté de Droit. Pp. vi, 771. Price, 15 *fr.* Paris: Librairie de la Société des Général des Lois et des Arrêts. L. Larose, Directeur de la Librairie.

[2] *L'Aurore du Siècle. Coup d'Oeuil d'un Penseur sur le Passé et l'Avenir.* By LOUIS BUECHNER. Version Française par le Dr. L. Laloy. Pp. 155. Price, 4 *fr.* Paris: Schleicher Frères, 1901.

dred and fifty pages. The first essay is an account of the progress of science during the past century; the second a sketch of the progress of philosophy since Kant; the third a defence of materialism; the others contain a brief exposition of the author's (and occasionally the translator's) views concerning a multitude of modern problems, indicated by the titles given above.

MR. BURTON'S knowledge of affairs has peculiarly fitted him for analysis of data pertaining to *Crises and Depressions*.[1] The fluctuating phenomena of business have not only attracted the attention of scholars, but a better understanding of the facts underlying the exercise of mature business discretion is recognized as a necessity by those who have the management of large interests. The author adds to critical discussion of theory much of statistical matter. This gives to his work a higher interest than those that have recently appeared. The book is written in readable style and is well intended to impress itself on a thinking public. To the treatise itself are added over thirty pages of bibliography which will be of service to those who wish to pursue the subject at greater length.

"THE CHILD, A STUDY IN THE EVOLUTION OF MAN,"[2] by Alexander Francis Chamberlain, Lecturer on Anthropology at Clark University, is too compact for continuous reading. It contains, however, a mass of information regarding various phases and problems of child-life, with extended citations and comparisons of other students. In fact, it is rather a comparison of other works than an original study. These discussions are grouped under such heads as: "The Meaning of Youth and Play;" The Child as a Revealer of the Past;" "The Child and the Savage;" "The Child and the Criminal;" "The Child and the Woman."

The author regards the child as the most important factor in social life. We have a right to expect that in time the promises of youth, which are seldom realized to-day, may become realities. "If the education of the centuries to come be cast in the spirit of wisdom the child will not, as now, lose so much in becoming a man." In the text the books referred to are indicated by the writer's name and a number, which refers to a numbered bibliography of some seven hundred books, which is alphabetically arranged.

[1] *Financial Crises and Periods of Industrial and Commercial Depression.* By THEODORE E. BURTON. Pp. 392. Price, $1.40 (net). New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1902.

[2] Pp. xii, 498. Price, $1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1901.

MR. A. R. COLQUHOUN'S latest book,[1] like his previous ones, is entertaining and instructive. An account in a single volume of Canada, Oceania, Japan, China, East Indies and Australia must necessarily be a brief one, and its merit must come from a discriminating choice of topics. The author has given most attention to social and political questions, and having the wide outlook which results from long study and extensive travel, his obervations are worthy of thoughtful consideration. To American readers the four chapters on the "United States in the Pacific" will have chief interest, for they contain a criticism of our strength and limitations as administrators of colonies. Several suggestions regarding the need of changing our military methods are made. In the concluding chapter the author sets forth in a summary manner, the political problems that must arise in the development of the countries of the Pacific. "The United States," in the opinion of the writer, "will be the dominant factor in the mastery of the Pacific. She has all the advantages, qualifications, and some of the ambitions necessary for the rôle, and her unrivaled resources and fast increasing population provide the material for future greatness. She is, however, embarking on an entirely new phase in her career, and is taking risks and responsibilities which she has hitherto been spared, and which, if they are to be carried to a successful conclusion, demand certain sacrifices and a remodeling of many of her most hidebound conventions. A great deal of the machinery necessary for dealing with the complicated web of foreign affairs into which the United States has been drawn, has yet to be created and organized, and large demands will be made on the patriotism and public spirit of the people."

ANOTHER VOLUME[2] has been added to the excellent "Social England Series." This is a study of mediæval chivalry in its various aspects: knighthood, education, warfare, the mimic warfare of tournaments, heraldry, religion, its apotheosis of woman, the ceremonies that gathered around it, the literature to which it gave birth, and its position in the life of the middle ages generally. Chivalry is such an elusive institution that it is only by a cumulative study of this kind that any real meaning can be given to the term or any definite conception obtained of the part it has played. Nor should it be treated as equivalent to a history of mediæval Europe, for its place was a comparatively restricted one and it enters merely as an element, not

[1] *The Mastery of the Pacific.* By ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN. Pp. xvi, 440. Price, $4. 00 net. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902.

[2] *Chivalry.* By F. WARRE CORNISH. Pp. 369. New York: Macmillan Company. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1901.

as a controlling force in the development of that period. All this Mr. Cornish has told well. A vast amount of interesting, obscure and significant information is woven together in his book into as consistent a whole as the subject will admit of. Indeed he has given it an interest and unity probably not before attained to. The volume has a number of illustrations which add much to its value, though of course they have not the elegance of the works of Lacroix.

"THE RISE OF COMMERCIAL BANKING INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES"[1] is a scholarly production. Mr. Adolph Oscar Eliason, M. A., of the University of Minnesota, has done good service in one of the most difficult periods of our banking history. After an introductory chapter which reviews banking experience in the colonies, he devotes his thesis to the history of the first commercial banks, undertaken after the Parliamentary Act of 1742, which forbade the organization of financial institutions in America. The work is divided into four chapters: (1) Conception of Banks and Banking During the Colonial Period; (2) The First Commercial Banks in the United States; (3) Causes for the Tardy Rise of Bank Institutions; (4) The Rise and Growth of Conditions Demanding the Establishment of Banks. To this is appended the most complete financial bibliography of the period that has as yet been published.

THE SECOND VOLUME of the collection of texts relating to the history of French industry and commerce,[2] collected by M. Gustave Fagniez, covers the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The first volume, published in 1898, contained the documents relating to the period from the beginning of the first century B. C. to the end of the thirteenth century A. D. The second volume, like the first, contains a critical introduction with numerous foot-note references to sources of information. These two volumes of texts contain selections from a rich storehouse of material, and are of great value to the student and teacher of French industry and commerce. A similar collection for the United States would be most welcome.

"THE CARE OF DESTITUTE, NEGLECTED AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN,"[3] is the first of the series (now being published in *Charities*)

[1] A thesis presented at the University of Minnesota as part of the work done for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

[2] *Documents Relatifs à L'Histoire de L'Industrie et du Commerce en France*, with an Introduction by M. GUSTAVE FAGNIEZ. Vol. ii, pp. lxxx, 345. Price, 10 *fr.* Alphonse Picard et Fils, Editeurs, Libraires des Archives Nationales. Paris, 1900.

[3] By Mr. HOMER FOLKS, for many years secretary of the New York State Charities Aid Association, at present Commissioner of Public Charities of the City of New York. Pp. 251. Price, $1.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902.

on "The American Philanthropy of the Nineteenth Century." Judged by this volume, the series will be of great value. The book fills a place hitherto unoccupied. There has been no comprehensive history of the development of child-saving institutions in the United States. Mr. Folks has had to search far and wide for his material. This he has carefully sifted, and his book gives us a clear and succinct account, not only of the history but of the present situation in the various States.

Mr. Folks has impartially outlined the various undertakings, presenting their strong and weak points, but keeping his personal opinions in the background. In the chapter on present tendencies, he notes that as regards public agencies the state plan is gaining on city and county. The real contest is to lie between the state and the subsidy systems. Both systems are growing, and in time, the author thinks, one will become the American system, which one only the twentieth century can tell. Mr. Folks hopes (between the lines) that the state plan will prevail, as the "subsidy system seems to be, as a rule, in a state of unequal equilibrium." There is no need for fear, however, that private charity will be rendered unnecessary.

Mr. Folks has given a good outline of the field, but there is still great need of a critical investigation of the results of the various systems of caring for children.

THE REPRINT of an interesting old volume, written in 1839, by W. Greig, is the first number of a series of "Facsimile Reprints of Books Relating to Early Canadian History, Biographies, Voyages and Travels, etc.," published by Congdon & Britnell, Toronto, Canada. The present work[1] is of considerable historic importance. The story of the rise of Montreal and the account of "the present state of the island and city," is told in the quaint style of the early nineteenth century; an excellent collection of contemporary views of the city, public buildings, etc., add materially to the attractiveness and value of the little volume. Chapter VI and the Appendix bring out vividly the antiquity of the work. The former contains an account of the cholera ravages in 1832, with a statement of the *Weekly Returns*, showing a city death list of 1,904 for the period from June 16th to September 21st. The latter is a contemporary account of the Rebellions in Lower Canada in 1837–38 and 1839. The present edition is a facsimile reproduction as to letter-press, illustrations, and bindings. It is edited by Newton Bosworth, F. R. A. S.

[1] *History of Montreal.* Pp. 284. Price, $3.00. Toronto: Congdon & Britnell. 1901.

"LECTURES ON THE THEORY OF ECONOMICS,"[1] by Frederick Charles Hicks, Professor of Economics and Civics at the University of Cincinnati, is a compilation of lectures and evidently represents the results of a number of years' revision. Its arrangement is highly schematic, and in his treatment of the subject the author adheres quite closely to established lines. An attempt is made, with but indifferent success, to square the ancient theories with certain well-known facts of monopoly which have begun to force themselves into the scientific consciousness. The book contains a minimum of concrete material, and has but slight connection with the facts with which it attempts to deal.

"RUSSIAN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS"[2] is a history of the making of Russia up to the present time. Professor Kovalevsky describes the evolution of Russia from an Eastern and despotic state to its modern status as an European power. The great monarchs of the early times—Peter, Catherine, and the two Alexanders—imitated the methods of other European nations. The central fact in the growth of Russian political institutions is the bureaucracy. The despotic, unbounded power, which is common to all Eastern monarchies, has changed its form, but not its substance, by developing into a governmental machine, with a thousand arms instead of one. When Alexander II. limited the bureaucratic power by establishing a system of local self-government, the first step in the modern evolution of political Russia was taken. Naturally, the entire influence of the bureaucratic element is openly and secretly exerted to prevent the further spread of self-government to the central authorities, and to limit as much as possible the application of the modern principle in the local governments, where it has already taken root. The various internal disturbances from which Russia is now suffering, and which she seems destined to undergo in the future, are explained by the author on the ground of this desire to reassert the supremacy of the bureaucratic classes on the one hand, and the natural tendency of the great masses of the people toward the formation of a constitutional monarchy. Professor Kovalevsky also devotes two chapters to the discussion of the Polish and Finnish political conditions. The subject is one upon which so little has been written in English that the work will be widely read by those interested in the great Northern Empire.

[1] Pp. 289. University of Cincinnati Press, 1901.

[2] By MAXIME KOVALEVSKY. Pp. 299. Price, $1.50. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1902.

THE THREE VOLUMES[1] bearing the general title "Social Catholicism," recently written in a new edition by M. Paul Lapeyre, contain in reality a whole sociological system, with numerous excursions into the fields of economics and theology. One peculiarity of the work is found in the fact that the author employs the term *socialism* throughout as the substantive of the adjective *social, i. e.*, having reference to life in common. In the third chapter of the first volume is an admirable exposition of the familar principle that man is a social being; that he was created and constituted to live in society; that the development and progress of his faculties can only be realized by life in society. Whoever admits this principle is, according to the author, a socialist. And, he continues to assert, Catholics must be socialists because their doctrine forbids them to adopt the contrary thesis, *i. e.*, that of individualism. Individualism is defined as egoism generalized and built up as a doctrine and system of philosophy.

M. Lapeyre undertakes to determine what the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church should be towards social problems. Himself an ardent and sincere Catholic, he views in the estrangement of the masses, who no longer care for the Church, a grave problem and a formidable danger to both Church, and masses. For the solutions he proposes, the author first elaborates a system of Catholic philosophy, which unquestionably contains a number of striking truths which are worthy of meditation, even by those who are not disposed to believe, like the author, that "Catholicism contains all truth," and "includes in its bosom all the secrets of present life and that of the future." Thus there are suggestive chapters on "Charity and Justice," on "Interest," on "Labor Contracts," on "Liberalism," "Depopulation," and the "Relations of Capital and Labor."

A NEW EDITION OF Professor James Laurence Laughlin's "Elements of Political Economy,"[2] formerly published by Appletons, has been brought out by the American Book Company. The work has been revised and somewhat enlarged. Statistical data, illustrated by charts, have been brought down to date.

IN "LINCOLN'S PLAN OF RECONSTRUCTION,"[3] Dr. Charles H. McCarthy, has attempted to cover the whole range of a subject that

[1] *Le Catholicisme Social.* By PAUL LAPEYRE. 3 vols. Nouvelle édition revue et corrigée. Vol. i, *Les Vérités Mâles;* pp. xxiv, 371. Vol. ii, *Les Remèdes Amers;* pp. xii, 517. Vol. iii, *Le Retour au Paradis Terrestre;* pp. viii, 512. Price, 10.50 *fr.* Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1901.

[2] Pp. 384. Price, $1.20.

[3] Pp. 531. Price, $3.00. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1902.

others have undertaken only in parts. The author has rendered a service in collating and coördinating the results already obtained. There is very little new in the book and the sources accredited are those commonly used. But newness of material and depth of research are not always the essentials of literary success. To publish something that will be read by a wider circle, to give breadth to views already well settled among specialists, may be quite as valuable as the original impress given to thought.

MR. ALBERT MÉTIN, who is the author of a very reliable and up-to-date account of English socialism, has recently issued a volume on the industrial conditions of Australia and New Zealand.[1] He has devoted his attention particularly to the study of the agrarian question and the labor problem in these British colonies, having been sent out by the French Labor Department to study these questions on the spot. The present volume is an edition, in book form, of the report which M. Métin made, as the result of his investigations, to the Minister of Commerce.

Compulsory arbitration, old-age pensions for workmen, the eight-hour work-day, a wage minimum, the protection of commercial employees, and a number of other measures, which to Americans seem almost utopian, have been applied in Australia and New Zealand, and have conferred on these countries the name of "workingmen's paradise." These measures, however, have not been inspired by theoretical considerations. They have not been introduced systematically, in pursuit of a conscious socialistic programme. The labor parties owe their influence largely to the fact that the Australian population is concentrated in cities.

The author gives a careful account of the compulsory arbitration law passed in New Zealand in 1894, which forbids strikes and lock-outs. Every union of laborers, consisting of seven or more members, and every organization of employers, as well as all isolated employers, are subject to this law. Industrial conflicts are first brought before a local board of conciliation, composed of members half of whom are chosen by the laborers' and half by the employers' associations. If the local board should not succeed in arranging the difficulty, it prepares a report and transfers the matter to the central board of arbitration, which is vested with all the authority of a regular court of law. It may require the appearance of witnesses and the presentation of business records and documents. There is, further-

[1] *Le Socialisme sans Doctrines. La Question Agraire et la Question Ouvrière en Australie et Nouvelle-Zélande.* By ALBERT MÉTIN. Pp. iii, 281. Price, 6 *fr.* Paris: F. Alcan, 1901.

more, no appeal from this court, whose decisions may be valid for a period of two years or less, according to the judgment of the court. It is possible for a decision, valid for a year, to be prolonged thereafter for two years further. Almost all the expense involved in the examination of cases is borne by the colony. The numerous inconveniences, in actual practice, of this radical measure, are discussed by the author with perfect frankness and fairness. The book as a whole cannot fail to interest those who are studying industrial problems in the light of possible government intervention in industrial conflicts.

"PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY,"[1] by J. Shield Nicholson, is the third volume of the large work on "Principles of Political Economy," which Professor Nicholson has for some years been preparing. It makes no attempt to contribute to the theory of the subject, and on that account is of especial and peculiar value. Book IV, the first in this volume, is devoted to an exposition of economic progress along the lines of currency, prices of commodities, rent, profits and wages. A large amount of interesting material is presented, and the author presents a well-organized body of evidence in support of his thesis that the general economic conditions of society are in process of improvement. Book V deals with the "Economic Functions of Government," and is mainly concerned with the subject of public finance. The author in this part of his work follows quite closely standard authorities, but he writes in a most pleasing style and presents the views of others in a form which is a decided improvement on the original.

"THE JEW AS A PATRIOT" is the significant title of a book of 236 pages, written by Rev. Madison C. Peters.[2] It is quite as significant that Mr. Peters is a Baptist minister, and finds his inspiration in the injustice to a race that has done distinguished service to mankind in every relation into which it has entered. "The anti-semite is a coward. The cry of a Jew-hater is the cry of a beaten man. . . . If you want to know why the Jews win, read the names published annually of the public-school children who have passed examinations for entrance to the sub-freshman class of the College of the City of New York. There are the Cohens, Cosinskys, Levys, Greenbaums, Cesmosskys, Shapiros, Fleishers, . . . and other names of unmistakable Jewish families from Germany and from Russia. . . . Fifty per cent of the students of Columbia University are Jews; they are

[1] Pp. 460. The Macmillan Company, 1901.
[2] Price, $1.00. New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1902.

busy qualifying themselves for success; while we are reviling them they are broadening their minds." Such is the strong portrayal given to the element of Jewish character that has given to them success—a success which has bred envy and persecution.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY the succeeding volume to McGiffert's "History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age" is written by Robert Rainy, D. D.[1] It covers the period from A. D. 98 to 451, and is to be followed by the "Later Catholic Church," by the same author. If compared with McGiffert's work it is less interesting, but this is due mainly to the subject matter. "The manifold detail which the student requires," and the unsettled state of many questions, make it impossible to present a thoroughly satisfactory account; moreover the volume consists to some extent of detailed articles, which are not sufficiently correlated. Yet this is a work of great value to the student and to the thoughtful reader. Some of the sections are admirable. The author has consulted and quoted both the original sources and a great mass of secondary writings. Occasionally he has missed some point. *e. g.*, he makes no reference to Seeck's view that the Edict of Milan was never issued, and he seems to have overlooked Allard's *Histoire des Persécutions*. But as a whole the book is a good bibliographical guide to the subjects discussed.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S "ROUGH RIDERS"[2] is a forcefully written account of a novel experiment in military organization. The sketch follows the troop from the original conception to the return of its members to civil life. It is beautifully illustrated throughout.

THE INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE OF SPAIN[3] are well discussed in a report made by M. Gaston Routier to the Ministry of Commerce of France. The author has traveled extensively in Spain, and supplemented, in a satisfactory manner, the information derived from official statistics. The causes of Spain's present backward condition, industrially and commercially, are set forth, the means of internal communication are described, the maritime facilities are discussed, and a large amount of statistical and other facts regarding the leading industries of the country is given. The author is optimistic regarding the future of Spain.

[1] *The Ancient Catholic Church.* Pp. 539. Price, $2.50 net. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1902.

[2] Pp. 300. Price, $1 50. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1902.

[3] *L'Industrie et le Commerce de l'Espagne.* With eight statistical tables. By GASTON ROUTIER. Third edition. Pp. 168. Price, 5 fr. Librairie H. Le Soudier. Paris, 1901.

OF VENGEFUL INTEREST was Mr. Charles Carroll's book, "The Negro a Beast." Quite as curious a product is the defence of the negro published by the Gospel Trumpet Publishing Company, under the title, "Is the Negro a Beast?"[1] Mr. William G. Schell, the author, by use of 238 pages, has brought to his support Scripture, history and science, to prove a thesis that needs no proof, and to combat an argument which the common-sense of mankind refused to give thoughtful consideration.

"BORDER WARFARE IN PENNSYLVANIA DURING THE REVOLUTION,"[2] by L. S. Shimmel, Ph. D. throws some new light on the history of that time. Emphasis is given to the fact that the American colonies were carrying on a double contest, the one for independence, the other a war of conquest. The cause and real beginning of the latter struggle are found by the writer to be far back in the eighteenth century. It is the view of the author that this war of conquest was imminent and would have been waged as a necessary result of encroachment on Indian rights, even though the war of independence had not been undertaken. The thesis presented is well worked out and is written in readable style.

MR. JAMES M. SHWANK'S admirable work as statistical expert, and historian of American and Foreign Iron and Steel Trades, is continued to November, 1901, in the Annual Report of the American Iron and Steel Association. In the materials presented as secretary of the association, through its annual reports, Mr. Shwank has done for this department of industrial life what is much needed in other branches—placed before the world reliable data and well-digested conclusions. The statistical work begun by him is now continued by others—Mr. Shwank giving much of his time to editorial work. He has become the recognized expert in the subject to which he has given his life. And in justice to his successors it may be said, that they could scarcely hope to take up the work and carry it on with the present degree of efficiency, were it not for the confidence established by Mr. Shwank among the iron and steel manufacturers by years of consistent integrity and protective discussion.

OF ALL the men in America who have striven to give to museums the power they ought to have in education, no one has earned higher credit than George Brown Goode. For nine years preceding his death

[1] Price, $0.60.

[2] Pp. 153. Price, $0.50. Harrisburg, Pa.: R. L. Myers & Co., 1901.

he had entire charge of the National Museum. Its scope in the character of material, methods of exhibition, and use in education were determined almost wholly by him. Under him the museum staff increased from thirteen to over two hundred, the number of specimens from 200,000 to over 3,000,000. His writings were numerous and creative, and have been widely recognized at home and abroad as the best presentation of the subject yet offered.

Not only was Dr. Goode a creator of museums, he was a naturalist of high rank; one of the great specialists in ichthyology.

It is pleasant to note that a government may be grateful for a life work given, and express some small measure of gratitude by making monuments to those whose work is finished. Such a monument is found in an annual report of the Smithsonian Institution,[1] in which are the addresses given at a commemorative meeting held at Washington, and selected papers of Dr. Goode's on museums and on the history of natural science in America. The historical papers are accompanied with 109 full-page portraits of the men who took part in the early development of natural science in America.

THE INTERESTING WORK already begun by students of American history has been continued for Western Maryland by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner. His monograph, "Western Maryland in the Revolution,"[2] appeared in the January number of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*. The publication reflects a high degree of credit on Dr. Steiner, as well as on the Department of History and Political Science, in which the study was carried to completion.

STRONG AND SCHAFER'S "Government of the American People," published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.,[3] is a work elementary in character, but one which embraces the two valid principles of working from the concrete to the general in presenting a subject and following the historical development of an institution as a means of understanding its parts.

A RECENT PUBLICATION of the University of Pennsylvania is a volume on "The Passenger Traffic of Railways,"[4] by Walter E. Weyl,

[1] *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.* Report of the National Museum, 1897, Part II. A Memorial of George Brown Goode, together with a selection of his papers on Museums and on the History of Science in America. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901.

[2] Pp. 57. Price, $0.50. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press.

[3] Pp. 250. Price, $0.65. 1901.

[4] Pp. 249. Price, $1.00, paper; $1.50, boards. Boston: Ginn & Co., Tremont Place, Selling Agents for the University of Pennsylvania.

Ph. D. The book is the result of five years of study, carried on partly in Europe and partly in this country, and is a scholarly, comprehensive treatment of a practical question. The book is written both for the traffic official and the general student of transportation.

In the opening chapters, the author shows the effect of improved travel upon society, and traces the changes which have resulted from this branch of the railroad service. The history of the passenger traffic of the various countries is then treated, and the theory and practice of passenger fares, the various factors influencing traffic, the incentives to and deterrents from travel, and the passenger policy of railways, are discussed at length, together with such questions as the zone tariff and the relative charges for transportation in various countries.

In a chapter on the "Profitableness of Passenger Traffic," the author treats of the various elements or factors entering into the cost of operating this branch of railroad transportation. Attention is drawn to the gradual lessening of the average trip, the disproportionate growth of suburban traffic, the extension of the cheaper forms of travel in the railways of all countries, and the practically universal decline in passenger fares. The experience of European railways is largely drawn upon, and much statistical information upon the passenger traffic of foreign railways is presented in the text and in the numerous tables in the appendix. The book closes with chapters dealing with the legal relation between the carrier and passenger, and with a discussion of the probable future of the passenger traffic, especially in view of the present and future competition between steam railroads and electrically-equipped inter-urban railways.

CAPTAIN JOHN P. WISSER, Seventh United States Artillery, late Instructor in tactics and strategy, United States Artillery School, Fort Monroe, Va., has added another volume to the already voluminous literature of the South African War.[1] This is unique in that it devotes itself almost entirely to the tactical and military side. Captain Wisser follows the various campaigns with interest, describes the character of the weapons used, and supplements both with tabulations of results and comparisons of the experiences of armies in other wars. He does not claim to be original, and is entitled to credit for having brought together in a single account the whole history of British and Boer military movements, the more extended literature of which is found in the many technical journals (French, German and English) that have followed the armies into the field.

[1] *The Second Boer War.* By JOHN P. WISSER. Pp. 270. Price, $2.00. Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberley Publishing Co., 1901.

"PROTECTION AND PROGRESS"[1] has all the defects and all the virtues of the class to which it belongs, and is unquestionably superior to most of the popular presentations of the advantages of the protective system. The confusion so manifest in the chapters on "Industrialism in Asia" and "Formation of Trusts" illustrates lack of training in economic analysis so common in works of the kind. Little of permanent scientific value may be expected until the subject is freed from partisanship, and protection has a broader significance than "to promote production and to avoid waste."

REVIEWS.

Beiträge zur neuesten Handelspolitik Deutschlands, herausgegeben von Verein für Socialpolitik. 3 vols. Pp. 336, 222, 218. Price, 12.40 *m.* Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1900–01.

The best series of commercial studies published during the past two years is that brought out under the auspices of the *Verein für Socialpolitik*, the "*Beiträge zur neuesten Handelspolitik Deutschlands.*" The scope of the work is wider than its title would indicate, for the essays are not all confined to Germany.

The first, and one of the longer papers, in the collection is Professor George H. Fisk's discussion of the "Commercial Policy of the United States, 1890–1900." Professor Fisk's monograph is a well-balanced, brief treatment of the facts of the foreign trade of the United States, of our commercial policy and of the changes in our international relations that are accompanying our commercial progress.

The "Position of the Agricultural Tariffs in German Commercial Treaties Terminating in 1903," is discussed by Professor J. Conrad, of the University of Halle. An account of the efforts of the countries of Middle Europe to harmonize their tariff policies is given by Professor Ernst Franke, of Berlin; and a description of the German-Russian trade relations is given by Dr. Carl Ballod, of Berlin. These four papers constitute the first volume.

The second volume of the "*Beiträge*" also contains four essays, one on "Agrarzolle," by Heinrich Dade; another, and short one, on "Imperialism and Its Effect on the Trade Policy of the United Kingdom," by Professor Hewins, of Kings College, London; a third on "English Trade Policy at the End of the Nineteenth Century," by Dr. Carl Rathgen; and a fourth on "German-American Commercial Relations," by Dr. Ballod. The subjects treated in this volume are of especial

[1] *Protection and Progress.* A study of the Economic Bases of the American Protective System. By JOHN P. YOUNG. Pp. 586. $1.25. Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago and New York.

interest to Americans, and much information can be secured from Dr. Rathgen's paper on English trade policy. The article by Dr. Ballod on the commercial relations of Germany and the United States, deals with facts familiar to Americans.

The third volume of the series contains two papers, the first of which is a short discussion by Dr. Paul Arndt, of Berlin, of the facts to be considered in concluding a new commercial treaty between Germany and Russia. The second essay of the third volume is by Professor Walther Lotz, of the University of Munich, and discusses in a critical and lucid manner "The Trade Policy of the German Empire under Count Caprivi and Prince Hohenlohe, 1890–1900."

Most of the papers are written by German scholars and consequently reflect, among other things, the feelings and aspirations of Germans regarding the commercial future of the Empire. One noticeable fact is the desire of the Germans to minimize their commercial dependence upon the United States as a source of supply and to augment their trade with Russia. Such a policy would doubtless be an advantageous one to follow, and would be greatly promoted by the development of better and less costly transportation facilities within Germany and Russia.

EMORY R. JOHNSON.
University of Pennsylvania.

Encyklopädie der Rechtswissenschaft. Herausgegeben von DR. KARL BIRKMEYER. Pp. iv, 1,344. Price, 32 *m.* Berlin: Verlag von O. Häring, 1901.

The new civil code has placed the entire system of German private law upon a new basis. Various features of the public law of the empire have, moreover, been influenced to a greater or less degree by the change. For the old system, von Holtzendorff's well-known Encyclopædia of Jurisprudence represented an admirable survey of the whole field of German public and private law, as well as of the neighboring domains of administration and international law. The repeated editions of this work testified to its usefulness. It was, as a matter of fact, designed as a complete book of reference, not only for the law student, but for the general public as well. Indeed, it would be difficult to find another similar work, in German or any other language, entitled to and actually enjoying so much authority as the old Holtzendorff did. Its various parts were of course of unequal merit, as the parts of every composite work of many authors must necessarily be; but its general standard of reliability and sound scholarship was exceptionally high.

The new conditions established by the recently enacted civil code gave rise to the need for a new work similar in scope and method to

Holtzendorff. The encyclopædia just published by Professor Birkmeyer, of Munich, in collaboration with ten other German jurists, is practically nothing more or less than an attempt to produce an up-to-date Holtzendorff. There are nevertheless some points of difference between the old and the new work. The old encyclopædia contained two parts; in one of them the material was arranged logically and systematically, while in the other part it was arranged alphabetically. It thus served the double purpose of a series of systematic brief text-books concerning the various legal disciplines and that of a dictionary of law. The alphabetical section, moreover, emphasized details of practical importance, while the systematic part was largely confined to theoretical questions and to the general outline of each department of law. This double treatment has been done away with by Professor Birkmeyer. The systematic arrangement of subjects, moreover, is an altered one; the historical sections in the new work, instead of forming separate, distinct parts, now form introductory parts of the systematic sections to which they are most closely related.

Some idea of the scope of the volume, and the authority to which its distinguished authorship entitles it, may be gained from the list of contents: Introduction to Jurisprudence, by Professor Grueber, of Munich; Roman Law, by Professor Paul Joers, of Breslau; History of German Law and Outlines of German Private Law, by Professor H. O. Lehmann, of Marburg; Civil Law, by Professor Franz Bernhoeft, of Rostock; Commercial Law, by Professor Lehmann, of Marburg; Imperial Bankruptcy Law, by Professor F. Hellmann, of Munich; Constitutional and Administrative Law, by Professor Adolf Arndt, of Halle; Church Law, by Professor Paul Hinschius, of Berlin; Criminal Law, by Professor Karl Birkmeyer, of Munich; Criminal Procedure, by Professor Karl von Lilienthal, of Heidelberg; Civil Procedure, by Professor Friedrich Stein, of Halle; International Law, by Professor Franz von Liszt, of Berlin.

The development of legal institutions in Germany is an interesting, although sometimes confusing, subject of study. Roman law, civil and canonical, had been slowly modified under the influence of foreign ideas. At all events, the Roman law which was taught in the German universities, and which was the subject of literary treatment at the hands of German jurists, was impregnated with foreign conceptions. When, moreover, after the fifteenth century, the Schœffen-gerichte were supplanted by trained judges familiar only with Roman law thus modified, this Roman law became the common law of the land, because of its application by the courts, and only to the extent that it was practically applied by the courts. In many cases, indeed, the

indigenous legal sentiment differed from Roman standards, and was so deep-seated that the judges did not apply Roman rules. The customary term, "reception of the Roman law," must therefore be employed with caution in speaking of German legal development. Not only were indigenous legal standards permitted to subsist and influence the conduct of courts, but there was a considerable variety of local standards, and often a wide discrepancy in the legal systems of various sections of Germany. So early as 1814 the jurist Thibaut realized the necessity for a general codification of the civil law of Germany. The first important steps in the direction of codification were not taken, however, until the middle of the century, when the German Confederation induced the several states to accept a commercial code which had been previously elaborated by a convention representing the several states of the "Bund." The North German Confederation fortunately had larger legislative powers than its predecessor, and the present empire has inherited the same legislative competency. In 1871 the general commercial code was extended to all parts of the empire, and a criminal code enacted with the same territorial validity. In 1877 a series of further laws continued the work of imperial codification (the *Gerichtsverfassungsgesetz*, *Civilprozessordnung*, *Strafprozessordnung* and *Konkursordnung*). As this legislation extends to the whole empire without restriction, the common law remained valid only as private law, in the cases not otherwise provided for. Even this finally disappeared the first day of January, 1900, when the new civil code—the result of the labor of twenty-two years—became the law of the land. In combination with the laws already enacted, the new code embraces the whole domain of private law. It supersedes the common law and the provincial law except in such cases as are expressly provided for. The code therefore represents the first national system of private law for Germany, and cannot help but contribute powerfully to the development of a national feeling of common interests and common institutions.

It is impossible to give a detailed account of the contents of the present work, or to criticise the treatment of the various parts it contains. The book is prepared primarily for German readers, and a criticism from an American point of view would be out of place. But we do not hesitate to declare that the American student interested in German law since the enactment of the new code will find it difficult to discover a better work of reference, or one apt to convey more succinctly or accurately the information he seeks.

C. W. A. VEDITZ.

Bates College, Lewiston, Me.

Miscellaneous Writings of the late Hon. Joseph P. Bradley, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, with a Sketch of His Life by His Son, CHARLES BRADLEY, A.M., and a Review of His "Judicial Record," by WILLIAM DRAPER LEWIS, and an Account of His "Dissenting Opinions," by the late A. Q. KEASBEY, Esq., of Newark, N. J. Edited and Compiled by his Son, CHARLES BRADLEY. Pp. xii, 435. Newark, N. J.: L. J. Hardham, 1901.

The chief value of the "Miscellaneous Writings of Joseph P. Bradley" is due to the light which the book casts upon the conduct of Justice Bradley in the legal-tender cases and in the Hayes-Tilden contest. It contains a number of political speeches, a lecture on the study of law, extracts from a commonplace book, essays, poems, remarks on the Gregorian calendar, a portion of a love-letter and a discussion of the internal arrangements of Noah's ark. But these articles are relatively unimportant. Justice Bradley was more than a man of education. He was more than an active member of the Supreme Court for twenty-two years. He was appointed to his judicial position after Congress had, for political reasons, deprived President Johnson of the power to fill vacancies which might occur in the Supreme Court, and after a later Congress had returned that power to a President who was in sympathy with its political aims; and while a member of that tribunal many of his votes were such as would have been cast by the most thorough-going partisan. His motives, therefore, and the circumstances of his appointment are of interest to every student of American public life.

The editor quotes at length from a letter written by Senator Hoar, and originally published in the Worcester *Spy*, in which it is pointed out that the act by virtue of which Justice Bradley was appointed was passed in April, 1869; that in November of the same year it was ascertained in a secret conference of the members of the court that Chief-Justice Chase and Justices Nelson, Grier, Clifford and Field considered the legal-tender acts to be unconstitutional, and that Justices Swayne, Miller and Davis considered the acts to be constitutional; that Justice Grier shortly after this conference sent in his resignation, to take effect on the first of the following February; that the decision was not made public until the afternoon of February 7, and that in the morning of the same day the President had sent to the Senate the nominations of Joseph P. Bradley and William Strong to be Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, nominations which had been determined upon some weeks before. In view of these facts, it is obvious that the assertion that the appointments were made in order to secure a reversal of the decision rendered on that day can be supported only upon the assump-

tion that the result of the secret conference of the court was known by President Grant in advance of its public announcement.

There is also given in full a paper prepared by Justice Miller and signed by himself and by Justices Swayne, Davis, Strong and Bradley, in reply to a statement prepared by Chief-Justice Chase and filed by him among the records of the court, in which it was declared that it had been agreed by the members of the court that the principle involved in the decision of the legal-tender question in the case of *Hepburn* v. *Griswold* should not be reconsidered in subsequent cases. The reply of Justice Miller and his associates denies the existence of such an agreement. Both papers were withdrawn from the files of the court, but now that all the Justices who were then upon the bench have passed away the reply is made public for the first time. A further statement, prepared by Justice Miller, but unsigned, declares that the resignation of Justice Grier was due to the unanimous request of the other members of the court, occasioned by the inconsistent language used by that aged Justice in the conference-room while the case of *Hepburn* v. *Griswold* was being discussed.

The opinions and remarks of Mr. Bradley in the consultations of the electoral commission of 1876 are set forth at length. There is also an appreciative review of his judicial record, by Dean Lewis, and an account of his dissenting opinions, by the late A. Q. Keasbey, Esq.

ROBERT P. REEDER.

An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England. By EDWARD P. CHEYNEY. Pp. x, 317. Price, $1.40. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901.

Nothing reflects more clearly the present-day interest in history than the timely appearance of Professor Cheyney's book, emphasizing, as it does, the whole manner and mode of looking at things with the attendant result that history is being rewritten from an entirely new point of view. For years the scholarly world has been agitated by questions that were "caviar" to the public, whose conception of historical movement has remained unchanged and unaffected. It has been reserved for an American teacher, one fully capable of recognizing the significance of English history for his own constituency, to prepare a text-book that has made accessible to the beginner that material which has heretofore been within the reach of none but the special student.

The work keeps the connection between the main lines of English history and the social and industrial changes by prefacing an introductory chapter on the "Growth of the Nation to

the Middle of the Fourteenth Century," and by a series of narrative paragraphs prefixed to the other chapters. From Chapter II, "Rural Life and Organization" to Chapter IV, "The Breaking-up of the Mediæval System," we have an excellent account of the main features of the institutional and economic organization of England previous to the seventeenth century. The other four chapters, dealing with "The Expansion of England," "The Period of the Industrial Revolution," "The Extension of Government Control" and "The Extension of Voluntary Association," give an adequate statement of the significance of machine-industry and the great change it effected in English life. Historical teaching has had an important service rendered to it by the writing of the author and the study of economic history has been placed in a stronger position.

Because of the generally satisfactory impression of the work, it seems desirable to offer some comments on points that to historians are of great importance; one *obiter dictum* calculated to jar the sensibilities being found on page 99: "During the earlier Mediæval centuries the most marked characteristic of society was its stability. Institutions continued with but slight changes during a long period." This is in direct contradiction with what is said on pp. 30, 31: "We can obtain but vague outlines of the actual life of the people" (during the period antedating Edward III.) "because our records are confined almost solely to political and ecclesiastical events and certain personal opinions;" and that of the actual social and economic conditions "the knowledge that can be obtained is even yet slight and uncertain." Now what evidence is there for characterizing English society before the Black Death as *stable?* Not a particle more than the loose popular application of "The Dark Ages" to that highly significant series of years called The Middle Ages. Such inaccurate conceptions of social phenomena should be barred, at least, from historical discussions, and the "heroic" or "epochal" point of view give way to one yielding a better historical training, the study of the transition period.

Again on page 183 we read: "During the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries there are no such fundamental changes in social organization to chronicle as during the preceding century and a half. During the first hundred years of the period the whole energy of the nation seems to have been thrown into political and religious contests" which simply means that the knowledge we possess of the economic and social history of England ends with the studies of the sixteenth century. Why "seems"? Are we to find forces at work previous to 1603 and after 1760, between which dates only battles of kites and crows are to be recorded?

Professor Cheyney hints at the effect of economic changes (178) as influencing politics, but the impression gathered from his pages is that economically and socially England in the seventeenth century was "a regulated industrial organization expanding on well-established lines." If but a tithe of the patience, energy and learning that has done so much to make clear the evolution of early institutional life of England were given to the seventeenth century, we would hear more than that its characteristic feature was but the solving of problems created by the policy of the Tudor sovereigns. The century that saw the founding of England's modern financial system, the development of our more modern machinery of credit, the establishment of political and legal arrangements that have affected the history of millions of men and given us modern constitutionalism, still awaits its investigators. With all the attention given to the detail of land legislation, it seems unfortunate that no mention is made of the law of 1645, abolishing military tenures, an act full of significance from the point of view of modern English history. Feudalism, with all the ancient law with respect to tenure by knight service and its incidents, was at an end; all trace of the old relation between lord and free-hold tenant was removed, and thenceforth all free-hold lands became capable of being devised by will. More than a century elapsed before land was emancipated from its feudal burdens in France, a great reform which was not accomplished in Prussia, Italy, Austria or Russia until a period within living memory. To say of the struggles following the Revolution of 1688: "In many of these wars the real interests of England were but slightly concerned" (p. 183), is to close one's eyes to the fact that England had entered upon a career of conquest unparalleled in modern history. Of the one hundred and twenty-five years between Boyne and Waterloo, she spent some seventy in waging ferocious wars, from which she emerged victorious on land and sea, the mistress of a mighty empire, the owner of incalculable wealth and the centre of the world's exchanges.

These comments have been made because we feel Professor Cheyney will appreciate that it is only by constant insistence that we can attain to Seignobos' "Methodically analytical, distrustful, not too respectful turn of mind, which is often mystically called 'the critical sense.'"

JOHN L. STEWART.

Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa

The Boy Problem: A Study in Social Pedagogy. By WILLIAM BYRON FORBUSH. With an introduction by G. STANLEY HALL. Pp. 195. Price, $0.75. Chicago: Pilgrim Press, 1901.

Those who have seen "The Boy Problem," by William Byron

Forbush, will be glad to learn that a second edition, revised and enlarged, has been issued.

To those unacquainted with the first edition it should be said that Mr. Forbush is a young pastor and a doctor of philosophy, Clark University, whose work for boys Dr. G. Stanley Hall has called "hardly less than epoch-making." The author speaks from his experience, and his book stands almost alone in this department.

The sub-title, "A Study in Social Pedagogy," gives the point of approach. Dr. Forbush says that the crucial time in a boy's life is when, with habits formed, "the psychical crisis and the infancy of the will, all coincident with the birth of the social nature, together form a period of danger and possibility. For helping this age social pedagogy is a new and most important science."

"Other things being equal, the best way to help a boy is to understand him," and this the author well says cannot be done in fifteen minutes.

As a result of an investigation of organizations formed by boys, Dr. Forbush concludes that clubs started by adults for boys should seek to get hold of them before their own social development becomes dangerous, and should retain them till adolescense is past, and that physical activity should be the basis of the clubs. With these facts in mind, a study is made of the strength and weakness of the existing societies for boys. Some of the religious organizations are severely criticised; "Religion in a child may be real, but it is only a promise. It is not yet time to talk about it, or to display it in any vocal way." Yet Dr. Forbush believes that the main work of the Church should be for the children. There is a chapter of valuable suggestions on the influences of the home, the school and the Church. The author advocates intensive work with a few rather than superficial efforts with many.

The book contains a directory of social organizations for boys and a classified bibliography with suggestions for further reading.

CARL KELSEY.

Principles of Western Civilization. By BENJAMIN KIDD. Pp. 538. Price, $2.00. New York: Macmillan Co., 1902.

Mr. Benjamin Kidd has written a book worthy of consideration by every thoughtful person. It is now eight years since the *Social Evolution* appeared; in the meanwhile he has worked out a thesis in social philosophy that will attract attention and be a factor in the subsequent development of the social sciences. Mr. Kidd's opportunity is a double one. Previous to the publication of Darwin's epoch-making book on the *Origin of Species*, English thinking was done by a group

of writers to whom the name utilitarian is given. Bentham, the father of this school, was followed by Malthus, Ricardo, James Mill and a host of other writers, of whom John Stuart Mill is the best known; in his writings the views of the school find their best expression. It was the misfortune of Mill that he was so soon followed by Darwin. Evolutionary doctrine has undermined Mill's leading premises and made it necessary to revise his work and find a basis in harmony with the new ideas. This fact creates the need of a new social philosophy.

It may be claimed that a new philosophy has been presented in the writings of Herbert Spencer, Huxley and other expounders of evolution. But Mr. Kidd rightly objects that the ideas of this group of thinkers were acquired before they knew of the doctrine of evolution, and that they have their thought basis in premises assumed in the writing of Mill and other utilitarians. They use the new doctrines to bolster up old ideas acquired before the doctrine of evolution began to influence them. An examination of the writings of Herbert Spencer and others of this group shows that they are either making long arguments against the hypothesis of a special creation, or that they are seeking a basis for ideas belonging to an older epoch. Spencer, for example, is a utilitarian with a revised proof, but with no radical change in the fundamental concepts of the older school.

If, then, the younger generation accepts, without question, the theory of evolution, they do not need the convincing proofs and the minute discussions in which the defenders of evolution indulge. At the same time young men get little satisfaction from the arguments of the utilitarians in the form in which they are presented.

The two current sources for a social philosophy are thus rendered inadequate, and Mr. Kidd is the first of a new generation to try to fill the breach. He accepts without question the doctrine of evolution, and hence can begin his constructive work at the point where his predecessors left off. He joins issue with the utilitarians at their most fundamental point. They believed in the ascendency of the present; that is, they desired the laws, customs and all social regulation to be for the benefit of those now living. Each age should think of its own interests. All would go well if in this estimate of present welfare each one counted for one and no more. Mr. Kidd rejects this philosophy. The real lesson of the law of natural selection is that the future should be the centre of interest—not the present. The surviving survive not by living for themselves alone, but because they think of their children and those that come after. Religion, government and other social forces follow the same law. They must put future welfare above that of the present, and this leads to a subordination of the present to the future.

How Mr. Kidd works out this thought the detailed argument of his book alone can show. It is clearly presented, and in a form that the general public can readily apprehend. I know of no other place where the real issues of the day are so clearly and ably presented and to which the reader can be referred with so much confidence that he will get what he seeks. He may not find in it a solution for all the difficulties which recent changes in thought have forced upon him, but he will at least lay down the book with the feeling that he is farther along than when he began. Every reader of the book will wish that another portion of social philosophy upon which Mr. Kidd is working will follow this. There never was a time when clear, fresh ideas were so much in demand.

SIMON N. PATTEN.

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Le Prèhistorique, Origine et Antiquité de l'Homme. By GABRIEL and ADRIEN DE MORTILLET. (Bibliothèque des Sciences Çontemporaines.) Troisième édition, entièrement refondue et mise au courant des dernières découvertes. Pp. xxii, 709. Price, 8 *fr.* Paris: Schleicher Frères, 1900.

The third edition of Professor G. de Mortillet's "Prehistorics," always an exceedingly useful book for anthropologists and ethnologists, is in many respects an entirely new book, differing not only in authorship from the preceding edition, which was written by the elder Mortillet alone, while the present edition is partly due to his son Adrien, but is also a considerably altered work, inasmuch as it takes into account the numerous and important discoveries made of recent years in this field of investigation.

Paleoethnology, or the study of the origin of humanity, despite its great importance, is a science of recent growth, scarcely fifty years old. Its development is one of the consequeuces of the introduction of inductive methods of study—methods which have contributed to the progress of all sciences, and given rise to entirely new ones. Both history and geology have been revolutionized by the new tendency, and between these two sciences, which seem to be distinct and separate, the modern spirit of investigation has given rise to a new science which serves as a connecting link between geology and history, and represents the conclusion of geology and the beginning, or preface, of history. It is concerned, of course, with the origin and development of humanity before we have any historical records, *i. e.*, before "history."

The authors maintain that the movement of glaciers, which furnishes the best means of measuring time, indicates that the glacial period lasted at least 100,000 years. It is therefore justified to assume

that man, having appeared at the beginning of the quaternian period, has existed 222,000 years, plus the 6,000 years of "history" to which the Egyptian monuments give testimony, and probably 10,000 years which elapsed between the geological epochs and what we know of Egyptian civilization. This gives a total of between 230,000 and 240,000 years as the antiquity of man. The other conclusions of the book, which the authors have themselves enumerated, are as follows:

From the beginning of the middle tertiary period there existed in western Europe a being intelligent enough to procure fire and, with its aid, to manufacture stone instruments.

This being was not yet man, but a precursor, an ancestral form to which G. de Mortillet gives the name "anthropopithecus," or "homosimian"—a form probably closely resembling the pithecanthropus recently discovered in Java.

Man appeared at the beginning of the quaternian period, at least 230,000 to 240,000 years ago.

In the regions known to us the first human type seems to have been that of Neanderthal. This type, essentially autochthonous, was slowly modified and developed during the entire early quaternian period and resulted in the type of Cro-Magnon.

His industry, at first very rudimentary, became perfected steadily and slowly, without violent shocks, which proves that this progressive movement took place at home, without the intervention of foreign influences or invasions. It is therefore likewise an autochthonous industry.

The continuous development of this industry permits us to divide the early quaternian period into four great epochs: The first of these, the Chellean, was anterior to the glaciary period; the second, or Mousterian, was contemporaneous with that period; the third and fourth, Solutrean and Magdalenian, were posterior. To these epochs two others have been added: The Acheulean, which is only an intermediate phase between the Chellean and the Mousterian; and the Tourassian, which unites the early quaternian to the later quaternian.

Paleolithic man, essentially a fisher and above all a hunter, was not familiar with agriculture, nor even the domestication of animals. He lived in peace, free and more or less nomad, and completely devoid of religious ideas. Toward the end of the early quaternian period, in the Solutrean and Magdalenian epochs, he became familiar with the arts.

With the later period there began to take place invasions from the Orient, which profoundly modify the population of the European occident. They introduce entirely new ethnic elements, for the most

part brachycephalic. The simplicity and purity of the autochthonous dolichocephalic race are succeeded by numerous crossings and mixtures.

Industry was profoundly modified. It was then that the domestication of animals, agriculture, as well as war for the possession of the soil, and religion, maintained and exploited as a powerful means of domination, made their appearance in occidental Europe.

This first invasion, which took place in the Robenhausian epoch, seems to have started from the region occupied by Asia Minor, Armenia and the Caucasus. It was preceded by the arrival, during the Tardenoisian epoch, of some less civilized hordes.

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Modern Europe, 1815–1899. By W. ALISON PHILLIPS, A. M. Crown 8vo. Pp. 575. Price, $1.50 net. New York: Macmillan Company.

History of Intellectual Development on the Lines of Modern Evolution. By JOHN BEATTIE CROZIER. Pp. 800, 355. Price, $1.45. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901.

Mr. Phillips's work constitutes the eighth volume of the series on European History under the direction of the general editor, Mr. Arthur Hassall. The third volume of the series, by Mr. Lodge, on "The Close of the Middle Ages," appeared some months ago, so that the present work brings this very useful and excellent series to its completion.

Like the other writers for the series, Mr. Phillips confines himself to political history. "I have been forced by lack of space to confine myself strictly to political history, to the neglect of those forces, economical, social or religious, in which the roots of politics are necessarily set," are words of his preface. The general character of the work is quite up to the others, if the author's point of view is conceded, which is throughout one from which the significance of events, rather than the events themselves, appear prominently. There is also an attempt to give unity to the entire subject, relating to events of the period to one central idea; by developing the progress of the century in Europe directly about the European system as a whole, "dealing with the internal affairs of states only in so far as they have an external effect." The keynote to the book is found in the attempt to establish a confederation of Europe, an idea which dominates, according to Mr. Phillips, the whole of the international politics of Europe in the nineteenth century.

A brief bibliographical note, five well chosen maps and an excellent working index, help to make the volume very useful to the general

student. As a text-book it has the merits of a good style and the absence of that overcrowding with detail which mars the usefulness of some of the other volumes of the series.

Mr. Crozier's "History of Intellectual Development Along the Lines of Modern Evolution," in three volumes, called forth very favorable comment some years ago when the first volume appeared. The third volume is now published. It is in many respects superior to the first, though it scarcely merits the high estimate given that volume by the *Westminster Review*, that the work promised, "when complete, to be the most important work of the kind issued since Comte's 'Positive Philosophy.'" Mr. Crozier decided to publish his third volume before the second, because, as he says, of his anxiety to give to the public his practical conclusions on present day affairs. The subject matter of the present volume is from its very nature extremely vast and complicated. To treat great problems of modern civilization, politics, education, government, society, etc., in a single volume is a gigantic undertaking, and rarely attempted with success unless the author be a John Morley or a Gladstone.

The author's division of his subject suggests the practical character of the work, and the attempt to impress upon the reader the doctrine of solving the problems of the present and the future by an intelligent appreciation of the evolution of the past. Part I deals with the nineteenth century, Part II with the twentieth. The practical statesman is treated in the light of the political and economic ideals of the day, and the chapter on practical politics follows hard on the chapter on the evolution of civilization. What the author calls the twentieth century problem—in England, France, and America—has a chapter in the second part, with a corresponding chapter for the reconstruction and reform in each of these countries. The other two chapters of this part of the work deal with the problem of education, the first being on "The Bible of the Nations and Secular Education," the second on "National Education."

The style is lucid and strong, and the marshaling of the facts shows a remarkable insight into the significance of modern systems and institutions.

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Social Control. By EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS, Ph. D. Pp. 463. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901.

In this volume Professor Ross has put important phenomena of social psychology under clear illumination. Professor Ross has long been recognized as one of the best writers on sociological themes. His

free and pleasing style is singularly well adapted to the exposition of problems that require not only clear statement, but also a happy choice of concrete instances and a neatly turned descriptive phrase. All of these qualities are found in the present work.

In various papers that have appeared from time to time in periodicals, Professor Ross has surveyed very nearly the whole field of social psychology. In the present volume he studies one part of it. An admirable distinction which our author made in one of his earlier papers divides social psychology into a study of social ascendency and a study of individual ascendency; the one dealing with the domination of society over the individual, the other dealing with the domination of the individual over society, through invention, leadership and the rôle of great men. The study of social ascendency, in turn, Professor Ross divided into a study of social influence and a study of social control. Social influence includes the phenomena of the mob mind, fashion, convention and custom; in short, all social domination that is without purpose. Social control is that domination which is intended, which springs from a self-conscious knowledge of factors and tendencies of social life, and proceeds according to a plan. The volume in hand is concerned with this fourth division of the phenomena of social psychology. It is divided into three parts, dealing respectively with The Grounds of Control, The Means of Control, and The System of Control.

Of these three parts the most important is the first, comprising eighty-eight pages. In explaining the grounds of social control Professor Ross necessarily indicates the cardinal principles of that system of sociology which he accepts. He does not anywhere state these in formal terms. Such a proceeding would be out of harmony with his whole method of exposition, which is one of close attention to the subject immediately in hand. The attentive reader, however, will have no difficulty in discovering from the chapters on "The Rôle of Sympathy," "The Rôle of Sociability," "The Rôle of the Sense of Justice," "The Rôle of Individual Reaction," "Natural Order," and "The Radiant Points of Social Control," what our author's underlying scheme of social philosophy is. To this the critic should give his chief attention, for this necessarily determines the validity of all that follows.

In sympathy, sociability, justice and the spontaneous redress of injury, Professor Ross finds the origins of natural society, the foundations of a social order. This is his postulate, and in this he is of course in agreement with the great social theorists of all ages. If he made no advance beyond this time-honored truth the reviewer could say no more of his book than to commend its soundness. That which

gives its distinct individuality to Professor Ross's further exposition is his contention that these primitive elements in social phenomena are wholly inadequate to account for the higher stages of social evolution.

Sympathy, Professor Ross maintains, breaks down at the point where we are increasingly in need of security. "Our social development is marked by the progressive substitution of fixed impersonal relations for transient personal relations." It is not in friendly aid, but in reliable conduct that we discover the corner-stone of great organization. "Sympathy will stay the hand of the wife-beater, but it will not spurn the bribe, or spare the lie. It will snatch a child from trampling hoofs, but it will not keep the watchman awake, or hold the contractor to the terms of his agreement. It will nerve the rescuing fireman, but it will not stimulate the official to do his duty. It will relieve the beggar, but it will not stop the adulteration of goods. It will man the life-boat, but it will not lead men to give just weight, to make true returns of their property, or to slay their country's enemies." And in another place Professor Ross says: "It is *obedience* that articulates the solid, bony framework of the social order; *sympathy* is but the connective tissue."

To see this truth as clearly as Professor Ross sees it, and to state it so forcibly, is a genuine service to sociology at the present moment. Not less clear is our author's perception of the limits of sociability, or the love of companionship. It is among primitive men, and in the little groups of gentle, kindly, island folk, now rapidly undergoing extinction, that sociability is most highly developed. Among highly civilized peoples it is characteristic of the so-called Latin races. The Teutonic stocks, that have carried social organization in political and commercial forms to its highest development, are notoriously lacking in sociability. These stocks have attained to world domination largely through the self-sufficiency of the individual, his ability to lead a lonely pioneer life, to explore and to colonize. "The great social expansions have occurred, not in the most gregarious varieties of mankind, but in those races that have sense enough to perceive the advantages of association, and wit enough to construct a good social framework. While, therefore, the earlier groupings are natural communities, the unions of civilized men are artificial societies." And farther on our author says: "If we take up, one by one, the forms of union that are mighty and spreading in these days, we can see that each one of them owes its existence to something else than the charm of like for like. It is a commonplace of history that the unceasing agglomeration of communities has never been due to the mutual attraction of peoples, but always to conquest or to combination for defence. Not sentiment, but invariably force, or the dread of force,

has called into being that most extensive of co-operations, the state."

Among the bonds that supplement sympathy and agreeable comradeship, Professor Ross names first the sense of fairplay, or natural justice, and secondly, that natural resentment or spontaneous redress of injuries which enforces justice. Very clear and admirable is the exposition on pages 24 and 25, in which Professor Ross shows that the natural sense of justice is derived from the perception by one person that another person is essentially like himself, while it is the sense of difference that opens the door to greed and to oppression. Thus, while denying that the merely sympathetic elements of a consciousness of kind can create the higher modes of social union, Professor Ross finds in the intellectual elements the basis of a wider, and at the same time a more flexible, association.

Sympathy, sociability, natural justice and the spontaneous redress of wrong together constitute a natural society. Yet, collectively as singly, they are inadequate to produce the greater social systems, above all the modern industrial state.

The larger social structures are created then by social control, which Professor Ross, if I rightly understand him, regards as a consciously or deliberately created means to "supply" a "demand," to meet "a long-felt want." The want itself, or the need of an artificial social control, has its origin in the growth of private property, a great transforming force that acts almost independently of the human will, and which, in time, "violently thrusts men apart, in spite of all their vows to draw closer together." In other words, private property, by making men unequal, destroys the basis of natural justice, and compels men to seek means to create an artificial order.

These means lie at hand in the three parties of interest in every deed, namely, the doer, the sufferer, and the disengaged spectator; and in the corresponding three attitudes. These give rise to three bodies of feeling and opinion that, in combination, create social control. The three are: "That of those who wish to follow a certain line of conduct, that of those who are injured by such conduct, and that of the rest of the community." The second and third impose control, the first limits it.

Social control has behind it practically the whole weight of society. Still it "often wells up and spreads out from certain centres which we might term the radiant points of social control." These centres are determined by prestige. "The prestige of numbers gives ascendancy to the crowd. The prestige of age gives it to the elders. The prestige of prowess gives it to the war-chief, or to the military caste. The prestige of sanctity gives it to the priestly

caste. The prestige of inspiration gives it to the prophet. The prestige of place gives it to the official class. The prestige of money gives it to the capitalists. The prestige of ideas gives it to the élite. The prestige of learning gives it to the mandarins. The absence of prestige and the faith of each man in himself gives weight to the individual and reduces social control to a minimum."

I shall not attempt here to follow Professor Ross's interesting development of these ideas through Part Two on the "Means of Control," and Part Three on the "System of Control." Only by perusing the book itself can the reader gain an adequate idea of the wealth of discrimination, the grasp of principles, and the felicity of illustration in which these parts abound. I shall close my note of appreciation with one small bit of criticism.

It is a mistake, I think, to draw so sharp a line as Professor Ross does between natural and artificial society, and to present a view of the bonds of devoloped society as radically unlike those which hold together natural society, or to use Professor Ross's word, "natural communities." Has not Professor Ross here fallen into error because he has failed to adhere quite strictly to his own admirable analysis of social ascendency? In the chapters on sympathy, sociability, justice, and individual reaction he depicts a régime that is essentially one of individual ascendency or one of social influence, as distinguished from social control. The reader, therefore, naturally looks at this point for a chapter or two showing how the more or less unconscious régime of social influence, gradually undermining individual ascendency, develops into social control. Those chapters are missing. Had Professor Ross written them I cannot help thinking that his distinction between natural communities and artificial societies would have disappeared.

Would it not have disappeared also if Professor Ross had looked for the common factor in such different social phenomena as the spontaneous kindness of kinsmen, the gathering of gold-hunters in a mining camp, the common obedience of a subject people to a conqueror, and the intelligent co-operation of a highly educated public in trying to realize an ideal? In the last analysis, all of these phenomena, different as they are, are common or like responses of many individuals, or of a multitude, to a given stimulus. Society becomes complex, its bonds of sympathy, sociability and natural justice are supplemented and interlaced by bonds of obedience, of fidelity, and of social service, not because an artificial régime is substituted for a natural one, but because, through a multiplication of stimuli, the like responses are multiplied, correlated and co-ordinated, and because, through this perfectly natural process, the unconscious social ascendency which

Professor Ross calls "social influence," by almost imperceptible changes develops into that conscious social ascendency, which he has so well named "Social Control."

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Poverty, a Study of Town Life. By B. SEEBOHM ROWNTREE. Pp. 437. Price, $3.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901.

This work presents in a clear and forcible manner the condition of the poorer classes of York, England. Mr. Rowntree was impelled to the investigation, which was made in 1901, by the desire to see whether the conclusions of Mr. Charles Booth were applicable to a small city. Mr. Rowntree chose, therefore, his native city, York, whose population is about 77,800. In his research he had the advantage of Mr. Booth's advice. The result is one of the best studies yet made, though it does not pretend to cover the same ground as the great work by Mr. Booth.

York is stated to be an average city as regards general conditions. The industries are not highly specialized, and nearly every young man and woman can find employment. In the investigation it was sought to learn the housing conditions, earnings and occupation of every wage-earning family, not including, however, domestic servants living away from home, nor the servant-keeping class. This excludes a large part of the better class of wage-earners. The facts were ascertained regarding 11,560 families, comprising 46,754 people. There are no large tenements in the city and nearly every family has a separate cottage.

The picture Mr. Rowntree draws is not a bright one. Abject poverty, with seemingly no rays of hope, stands out in bold relief. For the sake of England and her commercial position, as well as for the individuals, the author rightly considers this a vital problem. After a careful consideration of the prices of necessities, it is said that the minimum expenditure for a family of four—father, mother and two children—is 18*s.* 10*d.* a week. This allows nothing for extras and assumes that every penny of the family income is carefully and wisely used. How often is this the case? 1,465 families, embracing 7,230 persons, were found living below this standard in what the author, rather infelicitously, calls "primary" poverty. This is equal to 15.46 per cent of the wage-earning class, or 9.91 per cent of the total population of the city. By "secondary" poverty is indicated those whose "total earnings would be sufficient for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency, were it not that some portion of it is absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful." The "other expenditure" is

usually for drink, gambling, etc. In this class are placed 13,072 persons, 17.93 per cent of the population. Combining these classes, some 28 per cent of the population are in such a condition of poverty that mere physical efficiency cannot be maintained.

A gloomy prospect is before the child of the average laborer. During childhood, unless his father is a skilled workman, he is probably in poverty from which he and his brothers and sisters do not escape till they come to self-support. Then he marries and with the advent of children sinks again into poverty, until they become independent. After they marry he again crosses the line of poverty. In this periodical fluctuation Mr. Rowntree sees the normal life of the English laborer. To account for the early marriages of unskilled laborers he cites (1) unattractive homes, (2) monotony of life, and in condemning the custom, seemingly at least, ignores the fact that the unskilled man comes early to greatest efficiency and economically is justified, if ever in an early marriage.

The chief aim of the book is to portray facts, not to seek causes nor suggest remedies. The attempt, however, to get at the causes of this poverty is not entirely satisfactory. To state as the cause of 51.96 per cent of the "primary" poverty, the low wages received by those in regular employment, only restates half of the problem. To say that another 22.16 per cent is because of large families—the normal family being allowed four children—would justify one in saying that all children were a cause of poverty, as most of the parents would be above the line were it not for their presence. The author justifies this criticism when he states "that the 7,230 persons shown by this inquiry to be in a state of primary poverty, represent merely that section who happened to be in one of these poverty periods at the time the inquiry was made."

The chapter on "Housing" is well illustrated. While the rent is but 9 per cent of the income of the best-situated laborers, it amounts to 29 per cent for the poorest.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is that devoted to "Family Budgets." Mr. Rowntree had great success in getting numbers of families to keep itemized accounts of income and expenses. They show (1) the kinds of food they bought; (2) the prices paid; (3) the quantities of each individual purchase; (4) the menu of meals provided. These budgets are given *in extenso* and in an appendix they are carefully analyzed to show the nutritive value of the food. As a result it is found that a "large proportion of the industrial population are seriously underfed." Further investigations of this subject are to be desired.

The supplementary chapters containing studies of "Public Houses," "Education," "Coöperation," "Poor Relief," etc., show the need of

some reforms. Mr. Rowntree is not pessimistic, in spite of the misery he finds, and believes that careful study of conditions will disclose remedies.

The book contains two maps of York in colors, showing residence districts of the various classes. Many pages of investigators' note-books are shown.

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Public Health and Housing. By JOHN F. J. SYKES, M. D. Pp. viii, 216. Price, 5 *s.* London: P. S. King & Son, 1901.

The growth of our large cities and the pressure of population have wrought no greater changes than in the alteration they have effected in the mode of living. The exclusiveness of the house of former days is giving way to a closer association of habitations. Flats, apartment hotels, and residential clubs are becoming more numerous among the well-to-do, while the poorer and working classes are being crowded into tenements, "Mills hotels," and lodging houses. The importance of the housing problem in London is evident from the fact that two and a third millions out of a population of four and a quarter millions, or over one-half of the community at the census of 1891, lived in small dwellings of from one to four rooms. The public health is very vitally affected, not only by the kind of dwellings in which these people are housed, but by the way in which they are used. Dr. Sykes has accordingly divided his book on this subject into three parts, which deal respectively with (1) the effects upon health of certain conditions of habitation, (2) construction and misconstruction, and (3) usage and misusage.

Under the first head Dr. Sykes shows the close connection between density of population and the death-rate, especially for children and those suffering from pulmonary troubles. The effects upon health of certain defective dwellings, such as rear tenements, stable, basement, and dilapidated dwellings are statistically determined, as well as other defects, such as insufficient water, air or light, dampness and coldness. While these factors without doubt directly cause a high mortality it must not be overlooked that the very part of the population which is forced into these insufficient and insanitary dwellings offers least resistance to disease from other causes—overwork, long hours, insufficient or badly cooked food, hereditary weakness, and character of occupation.

The easiest, as well as the most effective, remedy for the housing problem would seem to be the construction of new dwellings on approved sanitary principles. Dr. Sykes therefore devotes the second part of his book to a discussion of the best methods of arrangement

and construction of new houses, and of the rearrangement and adaptation of existing buildings for tenement purposes. The third part deals with the usage and misusage of dwellings, the question of overcrowding and of sanitary conveniences. To guard against controllable evils registration of tenement houses is advocated. Many of the worst conditions in our tenements can, however, only be remedied by the education of the individual.

As the title indicates, the author (who is a medical officer of health in London) has confined his attention to the influence of the dwelling upon health, but within this field has made a very valuable contribution to the literature of the housing problem. Dr. Sykes is familiar with the difficulties as well as the need of reform, and his complete knowledge of the subject has enabled him to detect the defects and to suggest thoroughly practical remedies. While written primarily with a view to conditions in London, the book will also prove of undoubted value to American readers.

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Transportation: Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1902.

The Report of the Industrial Commission upon Transportation includes two volumes of testimony, about 220 pages of final report and some three pages of recommendations. Exclusive of a special report upon railroad labor, which is treated by the Commission in another connection, the testimony includes some 1,873 pages, of approximately 1,000 words each, and about 464 pages of digests and reviews. This evidence, together with its digests, is probably equivalent in length to the contents of six thousand pages of text in this periodical. The range of this evidence is very wide, and its value is, of course, unequal. It considers not only railroad, but lake and ocean transportation as well, and also bears upon the telegraph and telephone business. For many years the evidence thus presented will be valuable to the student of transportation, and the excellent digests prepared by the Commission will prevent the testimony from becoming lost by its own massiveness.

A considerable amount of evidence was collected upon the subject of the capitalization, construction and consolidation of railways, and upon the general theme of freight rates and freight classification, and many witnesses were examined upon subjects related to the purposes and execution of the Interstate Commerce Law. Such evidence included a mass of material upon the subject of discriminations, both personal and local, as well as upon the practical workings of the long and short haul clause of the law. The subject of pools and traffic

associations and agreements was also exhaustively considered, and testimony upon the matter of grain rates, grain elevators and export and domestic rates on grain was obtained from many witnesses. Other subjects dealt with by the Commission were the government ownership of railways and telegraphs, railway labor, railway legislation and railway taxation, which were also subjects of special reports by experts, while lake and ocean transportation and the telegraph and telephone service were also brought within the scope of investigation. The list of witnesses examined was a long one, and included presidents and other officials of railways, members of the Interstate Commerce Commission and of state commissions, representatives of commercial bodies in various cities, representatives of agricultural and manufacturing interests, shippers of various commodities, representatives of the telegraph and telephone interests, and of the lake and ocean carriers, representatives of railroad labor, general students of transportion, etc. The extempore testimony of the witnesses was, in the main, valuable, and was in many cases supplemented by readings from written statements, prepared in advance. The examination of witnesses was conducted by the various members of the subcommission on transportation, assisted originally by Professor Emory R. Johnson and subsequently by Professor William Z. Ripley. Special reports by experts appointed by the Commission were submitted by Mr. Roswell C. McCrea upon the Taxation of Transportation Corporations, by Dr. B. F. Meyer upon Railroad Legislation, and by Professor Samuel M. Lindsay upon Railroad Labor, the latter report being published, however, in a volume devoted not to transportation, but to labor (vol. xvii). A special review of these contributions by experts would be of interest, but cannot be comprised within the scope of the present statement.

The report of the Industrial Commission begins with a concise account of railway development in the United States; reviewing the extension of American railways and the decline in the rate of growth during the last decade, and giving statistics of the number of persons employed, the capital invested, the railway equipment, as well as the growth in the passenger and more especially in the freight traffic. The tendency towards a diversification of freight and a lessening reliance upon the transportation of single crops is pointed out, and an optimistic view is taken of recent earnings, gross and net, and of the reduced interest charges and increased dividend payments resulting from our present prosperity. The subject of the movement in passenger fares is somewhat inadequately treated, owing to the comparative absence of testimony upon this subject, but the decline in freight rates is clearly and lucidly set forth. The extremely low ton-mile receipts are

attributed to the long haul, to the great bulk of traffic carried and to its shifting from the higher to the lower classes. The decline in rates, which has been partly apparent and partly real, is shown, however, to have been quite unequal, and local rates have not shared in the benefit to the same extent as through or competitive rates.

From this general description the report proceeds to a consideration of the recent advance in railroad rates by means of changes in freight classification. The discussion of this subject by the Commission is scholarly and able, and appears to be based partially upon a similar, although perhaps more convincing argument by the Interstate Commerce Commission in its report for 1900. The Industrial, like the Interstate Commerce Commission, shows that the new classifications going into effect in 1900 virtually effected a material increase in rates, and it also points out that this change, by widening the difference between car-load and less than car-load rates, worked primarily to the disadvantage of the small shipper. The Industrial Commission also held that, although prices of material and labor had risen, the cost of hauling a single unit of traffic should have decreased with the increased volume of traffic, and that the increased net revenue per mile of line upon several lines tended to prove "that the advances in freight rates of 1900 were considerably in excess of the requirements for sustaining net earnings at a constant figure in the face of the enhanced price of materials and the higher level of wages." The Interstate Commerce Commission in its 1900 report had come to the similar conclusion, that whether or not the particular change in classification was justified, "it is evident that there is little in the claim that increased cost of operation justified these advances in rate" (page 18).

Under the heading of "Improvements in Equipment and Methods of Operation," the report interestingly describes the various factors contributing to an improved and cheapened service, and then proceeds to the discussion of the question as to how far the causes of present railroad prosperity may be considered as permanent. The present prosperity of the railroads is attributed to a general improvement in business (rather than to extraordinary crops), to actually higher freight rates, to harmonious, concerted action among the railroads, to their economical administration, to the great expenditures for repairs and maintenance, and to the increase in the business and population of the country as compared with the growth of new railway mileage. The principal factor likely to operate in the direction of a continuance of railroad prosperity is held to be the small likelihood of any new considerable railroad construction. This result is expected partly because of the increased caution of bankers and underwriting syndi-

cates, partly on account of the increased cost and difficulty of obtaining proper terminal facilities, to the increased necessity of obtaining an immense traffic in order to operate cheaply, and finally to the growth of the community-of-interest principle. No account is apparently taken in this discussion, however, of the considerable extension throughout the United States of inter-urban electric railways.

One of the most timely and important subjects treated by the Commission was that of railway consolidations. The report traces the history of such consolidations during three periods, extending from before 1855 to 1898 and during a fourth period from 1898 to 1900, during which latter period the "consolidations are intended expressly to obviate competition." The methods of consolidation are held to be fourfold, and to consist in actual purchase or ownership in fee, acquisition by lease, stockholding control and minority representation in directorates. Acquisition by lease, it is claimed, has the advantage of avoiding new issues of stock, and of evading much of the hostility of state legislatures towards consolidation by purchase, but control by holding of stock appears to be increasing in favor. By community of interest, or community of ownership, the Commission understands merely the "efficient representation by one railroad upon the directorate of another," and numerous instances are given of this new phase of policy. The genesis of the Northern Securities Company is described as an example, not of a community in interest, but of the more developed form of consolidation, the creation of a company for the actual ownership of railroad securities. "Whether the community-of-interest principle shall give way ultimately to such further development remains," according to the Commission, "for the future to decide."

The Industrial Commission held, as a result of its investigation of this subject, that the logical result of recent combinations of railroads would be to apportion the field among them so as to permit each system to be dominant within its own territory. Thus "community of interest is superseded by division of the field." The Commission seems to hold it possible that the consolidations will prevent discriminations in rates, but that the united roads may maintain or even advance rates, and at all events may make important rate readjustments by practically changing former terminal cities into intermediate stations. It also holds that such consolidations, effected in periods of industrial activity, are not without danger to certain classes of investors, and although consolidation usually signifies increased economy of operation, it is stated that the great railway amalgamations of recent years have been dictated rather by financial than by traffic considerations. As to the effect, if any, of railroad consolidation upon labor the Commission does not appear to be decided.

A considerable portion of the report of the Commission deals with the question of pooling. The history of pooling before 1887, and of various substitutes and disguises for pools since that date, is briefly given, and the effect of railroad consolidation upon pooling is treated at length. The Commission holds that, while railroad consolidation "may have been stimulated by the prohibition of pooling," it "does not profoundly affect the question as to the expediency of removing the prohibition at this late time." Pooling, if legalized, means stable as opposed to fluctuating rates, and permits competition in respect to service while eliminating the more disastrous forms of such competition. The Commission admits, however, that pools may have a tendency to raise rates, and it apparently takes the ground in the text of its final report, that while pools should be legalized, they should at the same time be made subject to governmental approval and supervision.

The chapters hitherto discussed in this review form but a part (about two-fifths in length) of the transportation report of the Commission. It will be necessary to limit the treatment of the remaining portions of the report and merely indicate and not describe their contents. An extremely able chapter deals with railroad rates and discrimination. This chapter is very comprehensive and cogent, and takes up most of the problems of rates discussed by the Commission. It cannot be said that the chapter contains much, if any, new material, but this can scarcely be expected in view of the thoroughness with which the Interstate Commerce Commission has presented the essential facts of the situation. The chapter on Freight Classification is also valuable, going into the questions of the structure of classification schedules, class and commodity rates, car-load rates, the economic basis of classification, etc., and showing in a clear manner the difficulties in the way of securing an absolute uniformity of classification throughout the United States, and the various conflicting local interests which oppose such uniformity. The chapter on Railroad Finance and Fiscal Regulation is weaker. It takes up somewhat extensively the capitalization per mile for the various territorial groups, the recent increase in capitalization, the varying relation between the volume of stocks as compared to bonds, the distribution of stocks between foreign and domestic holders, and among the latter, considered by themselves, and also discusses the question of stock-watering and the basis of capitalization. The discussion of this latter phase of railroad finance is comprehensive, but appears to lack grasp, and the same may be said of the treatment of the effect, if any, of high capitalization upon rates. Methods of promotion are briefly considered, and the subject of state supervision of capitalization is studied in the light of the Massachusetts Commission's experience.

Under the chapter heading "Position and Powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission," the Industrial Commission discusses the question of the present regulation, or lack of regulation, by the Federal Government of railways engaged in interstate commerce. This chapter is a well-reasoned and clearly-presented summary of the main arguments of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and shows the present powerlessness of that body. Present dilatory and ineffective methods of procedure are described and condemned, and the procedure contemplated by the Cullom bill, introduced in the last Congress, is advocated. The report narrates the history of the attempts of the Commission to compel the attendance of witnesses and its final success, and then discusses the Maximum Freight Rate decision and the complete nullification in that decision of the Supreme Court of the act to regulate commerce, at least as far as the previously exercised right of the Commission to fix rates is concerned. The nullification of the long and short haul clause of the same act is also shown, and the history of this clause and its operation is described and its general principles discussed. Upon the question of the powers to be given to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Industrial Commission, in the text of its report, is at one with that body. The report closes with an interesting account of the Anthracite Coal problem, and a brief statement of the conditions of Lake Transportion.

The recommendations of the Commission amounted practically to an advocacy of a reform of the Law to Regulate Commerce (1887) on the lines of the Cullom bill of 1900, with the exception that the Industrial Commission dissented from the clause authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to prepare and enforce a uniform classification. The legislation recommended by the Industrial Commission would provide for more stringent regulations for publishing and filing tariffs, including a statement of all the conditions, charges, privileges or facilities of carriage, storage or delivery; further, for the imposition of money penalties for any deviation from published rates, such penalties to lie against the railroad corporations, the guilty employees and the shippers; further, for a more rigid enforcement of the long and short haul clause, exemption to be granted under certain conditions by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Such legislation would further contemplate a definite grant to the Interstate Commerce Commission of the power to pass upon the reasonableness of rates, "to declare given rates unreasonable, as at present, together with power to prescribe reasonable rates in substitution," such power, however, to be exercised never on the proper initiative of the Commission, "but only on formal complaint." The recommendations of the Commission, in the shape of proposed legislation, contemplate further

a reform in the method of procedure, "the purpose being to obviate intolerable delays." Hearings and decisions by the Commission must be more prompt, the time for appeal to the circuit court to be limited to thirty days, and such appeal to the court not to vacate or suspend an administrative order of the Commission, unless such order rests upon an error in law, or is unjust or unreasonable on its face, "in which case, and not otherwise, the court may suspend its operation during the pendency of proceedings in review." The certified findings of fact of the Commission are to be considered *prima facie* evidence, but new material evidence may be taken if it could not have been submitted in the first instance. An appeal to the Supreme Court must take place within thirty days, and will not vacate the order appealed from. The Industrial Commission also recommends a grant to the Interstate Commerce Commission of power over classification, "both as to items and grouping," but dissents from the proposition to compel the Interstate Commerce Commission to promulgate a uniform classification for the country, although recognizing the advantage of such uniformity. For the periodical examination of the accounts of railroad companies, both operating and financial, the legislation recommended by the Industrial Commission would prescribe the establishment of a permanent corps of expert auditors, such legislation would further provide for greater promptitude, if not greater exactness in making reports to the Interstate Commerce Commission, as well as for an increase in the number of commissioners from five to seven, by the inclusion of representatives of shippers and of the transportation interests. The prohibition of lower rates on goods imported than on domestic goods on the same route is also advocated, and the Commission recommends to the various States, legislation analogous to the anti-stock-watering statutes of the State of Massachusetts. Fourteen members of the Commission signed the report of recommendations unconditionally, one member dissenting from the proposition to fine the receiver of a discriminating rate, while another member made reservation as to the manner of inspection of accounts.

But for one fault, the report of the Industrial Commission upon Transportation would be of great value. That fault is the omission in the recommendations of a distinct advocacy of pooling, under suitable restrictions and with proper safeguards. The entire treatment of this subject by the Commission is an argument for pooling under such suitable restrictions and limitations, and every member of the Commission, without a single exception, signed the report. When it came to recommendations of pooling, however, which was in entire consonance with the arguments advanced, this part was stricken out and the subject completely ignored by the Commission, again

without a dissenting voice. Every single member of the Commission argued for pooling (under certain restrictions) and every member of the Commission failed to recommend it, or failed to dissent from a report ignoring it. Until some explanation of this apparent discrepancy has been offered, the value of any recommendation upon this subject of Transportation by the Industrial Commission must be largely impaired.

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Un Siècle. Mouvement du Monde de 1800 à 1900. Publié par les soins d'un comité sous la présidence de MONSEIGNEUR PÉCHENARD. Pp. xxvi, 914. Paris: H. Oudin, 1901.

Among the numerous volumes which have recently been published, giving an account of the achievements of the century just terminated, an interesting compendium has been prepared by a group of over thirty eminent French Catholic scholars, under the supervision of the rector of the Catholic University of Paris. It would be difficult to discover an important aspect of the past century which does not find treatment in the nine hundred pages of this large volume. The "preamble" is from the pen of the Viscount de Vogué, and the "conclusion" is written by the Archbishop of Paris. Indeed, the philosophic depth and breadth of the preamble and the conclusion make these parts of the volume perhaps the most valuable of its contents. The preamble, judicious and admirably written, points out as the characteristics of the nineteenth century, "the prodigious advance of scientific knowledge, in its application to the subjugation of natural forces, to the unification of the globe, and to the transformations of social life." "In the last analysis, the great deeds of our period and all those which they will engender, had their origin in the cabinet of the savant, the laboratory of the naturalist, and the explorations of the geographer."

Whether all this progress has added to the happiness of mankind, M. de Vogué declares is an insoluble problem. If instruction has undoubtedly spread, it is nevertheless extremely doubtful whether we are more moral than our ancestors of a century ago. The end of the nineteenth century offers, along many lines, a strange contrast to the end of its predecessor. The French citizen of 1789 had dreamed of the fusion of the whole human species in liberty, fraternity and concord—a universal republic in which emancipated citizens, governed by reason alone, should know neither masters nor frontiers. Today, the spirit of nationality is the distinctive mark of history, uniting the various elements of the nations into a whole, but separating the

nations sharply from one another. The liberty of 1789 has become national independence, while the equality then dreamed of has become a new feudalism, like unto mediæval feudalism in all save that it is based on differences of wealth. The contrast is no less strange in the world of ideas. The spirit of the Revolution was idealistic, sometimes even chimerical, but always seductive and respectable. Metaphysical concepts presided over the destruction of the old world and the creation of the new; pure reason was sovereign and made little of reality and experience; destruction and reconstruction were carried on with a kind of lyric enthusiasm. Now, however, the spirit of realism, of positivism, holds absolute sway, and practical genius has been substituted for the idealistic phantasy of our forefathers.

Despite the prudent experimental advances of modern science, M. de Vogué maintains that its results singularly coincide with the intuitive results of mediæval thought. The conclusions of modern science are daily bringing us nearer to traditional truths, when they do not expressly confirm them. The positivistic sociologist, the physiologist and all impartial observers of nature and life, after a long circuitous voyage, are returning to the places from which they set out. The philosophers speak of determinism. Yet when we urge them to go to the depths of the problem, they give solutions which remind us of the old principles of causality and efficient causes; one seems to be listening to the casuists of the sixteenth century or the Jansenists of Port Royal discussing grace and predestination. Change the terminology, and much that appears new and even revolutionary has already been said a few hundred years ago.

The articles in the body of the volume which are most apt to interest the sociologist, economist or political scientist, are those on Nationalities, Legislation, the Partition of the World, War, Industry and Commerce, the Social Question, Ecclesiastical Charity, and Education. For M. Etienne Lamy, author of the article on Nationalities, the "national aspirations of Cuba served as a pretext for the cupidity of the United States." And for M. Henri Joly, the future welfare of the United States depends on the progress the Catholic Church will make in this country. "Will," this author inquires with an anxiety which may give us some clue to the concern he must feel concerning his own country, "will the Catholic Church gain enough adherents to restore the moral forces of the nation? The family has need of it; for it is being undermined by divorce and sterility, two ulcers which spread and envenom one another."

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NOTES.

I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

Chicago.—*The Election* held in Chicago April 1 resulted in the election of what should prove to be not only the most honest, but also the most efficient council Chicago has had in many years, in the consolidation of the town governments within the limits of the city, and in an overwhelming majority for municipal ownership of street railways and gas and electric plants and in favor of direct primaries.

The total vote cast in the aldermanic contests was only about fifty-nine per cent of that cast at the last presidential election. A few years ago this would have resulted in the election of the worst candidates. But the condition in Chicago has changed very decidedly for the better and out of a total of thirty-six aldermen elected, twenty-eight were recommended by the Municipal Voters' League. Only eight candidates denounced by the League as being unfit for public office, were elected. Most of these have been members of the council in the past and are returned with reduced majorities. In two cases the majorities are so small that the seats will be contested. A few notorious gangsters in the old council and a number of would-be notorious gangsters in the next were defeated. A few of the valuable aldermen in the old council will not have seats in the new, but several new members with wide experience, some of them members of former councils, more than make good the loss.

Out of a total of seventy members the new council will have fifty-three endorsed by the Municipal Voters' League. Most of these, and a few of the seventeen not endorsed, have subscribed to the League's platform which, among other things, declares for non-partisan organization of the council; for a strict and businesslike system of accounting and auditing and the limiting of expenditures to actual public necessities and keeping them within the revenue; for adequate compensation to the city for all franchise privileges, *i. e.*, whatever is earned by public service corporations over and above a fair return on "value of the tangible property" actually employed in conducting their enterprises; for limiting franchises to "as short a term as practicable," in no case to exceed twenty years; for the explicit reservation of the "opportunity for municipal ownership" at or before the expiration of any franchise for street railways, gas or electric plants or other public utilities; for uniformity and publicity of the accounts of all corporations holding public franchises; and for the application of the

[1] Contributed by H. A. Millis, Ph. D., Crerar Library, Chicago.

merit system to the civil service and the strict enforcement of the civil service laws. That this platform expresses fairly well the public will is shown by the almost unanimous endorsement by the press and the election of the great majority of the candidates recommended by the League.

The *consolidation of the seven town governments* lying wholly within the limits of Chicago is the first step in the simplification and unification of its municipal government. The returns showed 64,721 for and 10,506 against the proposition, about 65 per cent of those voting having failed to vote at all on the question. This neglect was probably due to the conviction that there would be a large majority in favor of consolidation.

Originally the county was the unit of local government in Illinois, but since it was made possible by the General Assembly, in 1879, all but eighteen of the one hundred and two counties, Cook among them, have adopted the town system. Within the limits of Chicago the town governments have been charged with no important duties save the assessment of property for purposes of taxation and the collection of taxes. The assessor made the original assessments. These were revised by the assessor, supervisor and clerk, serving as a board of appeal, and again revised by the board of county commissioners, acting as a board of review, and as a board of equalization among the several towns. This resulted in perhaps the worst and most corrupt administration of the general property tax ever met with in this country. Finally, in 1898, the assessment of property in Cook County, for purposes of taxation, was placed in the hands of a board of asssessors and a board of review. Since that time the town assessors have served as deputies in the employ of the board of assessors. The taxes have continued to be collected by the town collectors.

For years the town offices in Chicago have been used for profit and political advancement by unscrupulous politicians. Except when occasionally enjoined from so doing by the courts, the town officers have voted themselves large salaries in defiance of the law. Town collectors have illegally withheld from the public coffers the taxes collected, that they might secure to themselves the interest derived from them. At all times the town revenues have been unduly swelled to serve ostensibly as salaries for public work performed, but in reality as rewards for those who had made themselves politically useful. It is estimated that consolidation will result in a saving to the taxpayers of half a million per year.

The final consolidation of the town governments has been secured only after a number of unsuccessful attempts. It is made now in accordance with an act passed by the last General Assembly (1901),

applying to townships lying wholly within cities of more than 50,000 population—at present Chicago and Peoria. By the terms of this act, when accepted by the electorate, all powers vested in such townships are exercised by the city council; the city clerk becomes ex-officio clerk and assessor of each township, the county treasurer ex-officio collector and supervisor, and the offices of highway commissioners are abolished. Just what is the status of the constables under the new law is not clear.

Municipal Ownership. The vote taken on the municipal ownership of street railways and lighting plants and on direct primaries was made possible by an act passed by the last General Assembly, providing that "on a written petition signed by twenty-five per cent of the registered voters of any incorporated town, village, city, township, county or school district; or ten per cent of the registered votes (voters) of the state, it shall be the duty of the proper election officers in each case to submit any question of public policy so petitioned for to the electors . . . at any general or special election named in the petition," not more than three such propositions being submitted at the same election. The three propositions in this case were petitioned for together and were submitted to the voters on a separate ballot.

The results of the vote on these questions of public policy are on the surface somewhat surprising. Contrary to the fears of many the vote polled was comparatively large. Of the 213,859 voting in the aldermanic contests, 170,824, 161,365 and 157,740 expressed their opinions of municipal ownership of street railways, gas and electric plants and of direct primaries, respectively. About 84 per cent (142,826) of those voting on the question favored municipal ownership of street railways; 139,999, or 87 per cent, favored municipal ownership of gas and electric plants; 140,086, or 89 per cent, favored the system of direct primaries.

Perhaps in voting for the municipal ownership of street railways the 142,826 of a total of almost three times that many registered voters did little more than to record their dissatisfaction with the present situation and their will that the city council when renewing the franchises soon to expire shall serve the interests of the public, reserving adequate powers of control and the right of ownership when it may become possible and expedient. The city now has no authority to own and operate street railways and perhaps will not have such authority in the near future; it would not pay for them out of current income or by incurring a larger debt if it had such authority; the franchises held by the street railway corporations will be of such value for some years that the city must wait for them to expire; and the city's civil service is as yet too inefficient to be charged with such

a trust were the city legally and financially able to gain control of them. Under the circumstances the proposition for "ownership by the city of Chicago of all street railroads within the corporate limits of said city" appealed favorably to several classes of voters. No one was able to give accurate expression to his wishes. The proposition was approved by those who desire ownership with operation by lessees as well as by those who favor ownership with operation by public employees. There are among those voting in the affirmative some enthusiasts who want municipal ownership at once or in the very near future; there are many who regard it as a solution to be applied at some indefinite time in the future; while finally there are those who wish the city to be in position to acquire the street railway properties as a last resort when the policy of regulation shall have been definitely proved to be unsatisfactory. All agree in serving notice on the General Assembly, the city council and the street railway corporations that the inadequate transportation service, the inefficient management, the corruption and disregard for public interests obtaining in the past must not recur in the future.

In voting favorably on the proposition for municipal ownership of gas and electric plants, expression was given to the same feeling of dissatisfaction created by "gas trust" methods. The "gas trust" has defied the anti-trust laws, corrupted the General Assembly and city council, and fought, thus far, successfully, all attempts to reduce the price of its product to the consumer. It and the Edison company have paid large dividends in watered stock. The people have rebelled. The experiment of municipal street lighting has been very successful. The city now owns more than 4,000 of the electric lights used for street lighting. The voters wish to have the system extended so as to light all the streets, and to furnish both electricity and gas to private consumers at reasonable prices. Their decision that relief must be had from the oppression of two monopolies, and practically no agitation, was necessary to secure the large majority for municipal ownership noted above.

Political Bossism. Another thing from which the people desire relief is the political boss. The primary elections are now under the protection of the law. During the few years the present system has been in force the situation has been somewhat improved. But the final solution has not been found. A change was proposed and looked upon with favor. There was little agitation of the matter, and no direct comparison of the merits of direct primaries with those of nomination for local office by petition, which would ignore political parties altogether. One hundred and forty thousand and eighty-six men have expressed their opinions of the methods adopted by

the "machine" to elect the "right" delegates at the primaries, and to control them in the nominating convention. Seventeen thousand six hundred and fifty-four find that the present system serves them well, or object to the system of direct primaries because they nominate by petition.

Bureau of Statistics and Municipal Library.[1] Five years ago Boston created a department of statistics. Beginning with May, 1899, it has published a monthly and issued a number of special bulletins. New York created a similar department, but it has not been continued under the new charter of 1901. The third city in this country to undertake such work was the city of Chicago.

The Bureau of Statistics, created a year ago, was an outgrowth of the Municipal Library, established some months earlier, to make a systematic collection of and to care for the official documents of other cities. Since March, 1901, the Librarian and Statistician has issued a bimonthly bulletin. Number VI, published in January of this year, completes Volume I.

The primary purpose of the city of Chicago statistics is to show in concise form the workings of the several departments of the city government. In addition to this, however, it gives the statistics of clearings, commerce, imports and exports, and shipping of Chicago, and publishes in appendices the results of comparative studies in municipal finance and administration.

Unfortunately the administration of the three park systems and the charitable institutions is vested in park boards and the Board of County Commissioners, and is not covered by these bulletins. The statistics relating to those branches of municipal administration falling within the jurisdiction of the city are very full and are intelligently compiled. They are taken from the official records, and are so arranged as to show concisely and accurately the things of interest to the public. A monthly record of receipts and of expenditures by departments has not been made. Perhaps this will be done when adequate appropriations are made for carrying on the work.

The appendices are by no means the least important part of the publication. Those published in Volume I are "Municipal Statistics of the City of Chicago from 1893 to 1900," a "Comparative Statement of the Revenues and Expenditures of Twenty American Cities for the Year 1900," "Comparative Police Statistics of Twenty American Cities for the Year 1900," "Statistics Showing the Growth of the Waterworks System of the City of Chicago from 1854 until 1900," "Tax Collections in Chicago Since 1881," "Receipts of Chicago, Showing Actual Cash Income from 1881–1900," "Comparative

[1] Contributed by H. A. Millis, Ph. D., Crerar Library, Chicago.

Statement of License Fees Charged and Amounts Collected in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Boston for 1900," "Number of Police Officers and Salaries Paid in Ten American Cities for the Year 1901," "Annual Report of the Municipal Library and Bureau of Statistics," and a "Summary of the Municipal Government of the City of Chicago for the Year 1901."

All of the statistical tables bear evidence of thorough investigation and careful compilation. When compared with those published by Boston and several foreign cities the bulletins are found to be among the best. Every student of municipal administration will find them valuable for reference, and every library collecting literature relating to municipal affairs should have them on its shelves.

Philadelphia.—*The Municipal League*, in its tenth annual report, advance proof-sheets of which have been given the ANNALS, reviews the work of the past year and indicates the progress during ten years of the principles for which the League stands. Established to create and organize public opinion, it feels that it has succeeded in the first to an unexpected degree. The public seems to have accepted the League's position that no public franchises should be granted, except for a limited term of years, and upon condition that the city should be adequately compensated for the privilege.

The Stay at-Home Vote. Thus far, however, this acceptance has been theoretical, but not practical. Men have failed to vote as they think, or, worse still, they have failed to vote at all. The machine can always depend upon its vote, partly through the perfection of its organization; partly through its almost absolute control of the election officers. But its great source of strength—we might almost say its bulwark—is the indifference and apathy of the independent voter. The returns show that there are at least 90,000 such in Philadelphia; they also show that they come out only on occasions, instead of regularly. Of nearly 350,000 assessed voters in November, but 239,900 voted; that is but 68 per cent of the whole. Nearly the entire assessment was voted in the notoriously corrupt wards, so that the percentage of stay-at-homes in the independent wards must have been greatly in excess of 32 per cent. This figure is criminally large in a democratic community.

Personal Registration. After six years of unremitting endeavor the state constitution has been so amended that personal registration may be required by statute. The Governor attempted to prevent this amendment going to the people, but the Supreme Court unanimously denied the right of an executive to veto a proposed amendment to the constitution. Another battle must be fought to secure the passage of a bill to require personal registration.

Franchise Legislation. The proposition of the late A. L. Johnson to guarantee three-cent fares for a street railway franchise opened the eyes of the existing company and of the machine to the valuable privileges still within the gift of the city. Then followed a series of moves unprecedented in the history of the United States. Two enabling bills were rushed through the state senate with no public hearing and no debate. Reported to the House through a trick, they were pushed through that body with equal speed, and sent to the Governor, who signed them at midnight without a public hearing, but in the presence of the leaders of the machine and of the subsequent beneficiaries of the legislation. Thirteen ordinances under the new acts were introduced into councils and, with but a farce of a public hearing, were passed by both chambers. At the hearing referred to the president of the League was graciously permitted to read the League's protest and then the committee proceeded with automaton-like dispatch to dispose of the ordinances.

The mayor gave no public hearing, but signed the bills on the same day they were presented to him and in face of an offer of $2,500,000 for the franchises from a responsible citizen who backed up his offer by a deposit of $250,000. In a few days over two weeks, franchises estimated by the grantees to be worth not less than $10,000,000, were granted without a cent's worth of compensation to the city or a single line of protection.

Tax Revision. The last legislature devised a bill ousting from office the existing Philadelphia Board of Revision of Taxes, which for thirty years had worked to the general satisfaction of the citizens, and providing for a new board to be elected at the general election. The bill was passed and approved by the Governor, but it had to run the gantlet of the Supreme Court of the State, which declared it and its companion bill unconstitutional.

Buffalo.[1]—In December last Buffalo entered upon a brief season of municipal house-cleaning. A large defalcation was discovered in the city treasurer's funds, and an investigation showed that he had been in the habit of paying city funds to persons who had money due them from the city in advance of the issuance of warrants therefor. As this is in direct violation of the city charter, the mayor removed him from office. He was subsequently indicted by the grand jury and is now awaiting trial. One of his subordinates, who was concerned in the matter, was also indicted, pleaded guilty, and has been sentenced to a term in prison. Next an official in the county clerk's office was found guilty of falsifying lists of jurors in such a way as to convert to his own use pay for men who had not served. He also went to prison.

[1] Contributed by A. C. Richardson, Buffalo.

Then one of the coroners was indicted on a charge of embezzling money found on the body of a laborer who had been killed by an accident. He is now awaiting trial.

Spoils. The Republican ticket was successful in the last election and the new mayor entered upon his office on the first of January. His first official act seemed to indicate that it was his intention to conduct his administration in the interest of the spoils system, pure and simple. The term of the health commissioner, Dr. Ernest Wende, had expired. He was a Democrat, but had held his office for ten years, having been reappointed by one Republican mayor. He had rigidly excluded politics in every shape from the administration of his office, and had conducted it in such a manner as to reduce the death rate to a trifle over eleven per thousand, and to make Buffalo's Health Department famous the world over for fearless efficiency. The great majority of the medical profession protested against the removal of Dr. Wende; hundreds of the best and most prominent citizens signed petitions for his retention, but it availed nothing. The mayor and his party machine saw nothing in the Health Office but a Democrat getting a salary that could be given to a Republican, and accordingly the deputy commissioner, who is a Republican, was appointed to the place—which, one would suppose, is the last in the world that would be likely to be treated as spoils. Now, however, that it is definitely settled that it is to be so treated, it is quite certain that Buffalo can never again have such an administration as that of Dr. Wende, for no first-class physician can ever be induced to take the place under such circumstances.

Civil Service Commission. There has long been much dissatisfaction with the manner in which the civil service law was administered by the commission appointed by the last mayor. Rumors of irregularities, favoritism, etc., were frequent, and it seemed best to the new mayor to appoint an entirely new one, and to reduce the number from fifteen to seven. Three of the new members were suggested by the Civil Service Reform Association, and had served upon a former commission. As soon as the new commission was announced, definite complaints were made to its chairman in regard to a recent examination for police patrolmen. He made a careful investigation, and discovered sufficient evidence, not only of favoritism but of downright fraud, to justify the commission in annuling the examination, canceling the eligible list made from it, and holding a new examination, which, at the time of writing, it seems likely that they will do.

State Legislation. The Park Commission has been reduced by law from fifteen to five, and the assessors from five to three; these changes are generally regarded as good. But another measure now

awaits the governor's signature (and will probably receive it), which is universally considered as wholly bad. It creates a bi-partisan Board of Elections for Erie County, consisting of two election commissioners with a force of clerks, etc., who are to do the work of preparing for elections. This work has been done to everybody's satisfaction for a dozen years by the city, county and town clerks of the county. The proposed board is wholly unnecessary, and no one can see anything in it but a scheme to provide big salaries for two or three party workers.

Commissioner vice Board of Public Works.—Our Board of Public Works, consisting formerly of three commissioners, was replaced at the beginning of the year by a single elected commissioner. Whether this will prove to be a wise change or not depends largely upon the character of the commissioner. The principle is undoubtedly good.

New Orleans.—*Water Franchise Forfeited.*[1] The most important fact of recent date, affecting the inhabitants of New Orleans, is the decision of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, rendered November 7, 1901, rehearing refused February 3, 1902, forfeiting the charter and franchises of the New Orleans Waterworks Company, which had a legislative monopoly of the public and private water supply and which had twenty-seven years yet to run. The ground of the forfeiture was an abuse of its franchises and failure to perform the conditions on which the franchise was granted: (1) In not furnishing an adequate supply of pure and wholesome water; (2) in unjust discrimination in charges; (3) in charging and exacting more than the charter allowed. A writ of error has been allowed by Mr. Justice Peckham to the Supreme Court of United States, where it is now pending on a motion to dismiss or affirm.

The hands of the Sewerage and Water Board have been tied by this monopoly. It was created in 1899, charged with the duty of giving New Orleans an adequate supply of pure water and sewerage, and has $14,000,000 to expend. It has awaited the result of the suit to forfeit the monopoly of the Waterworks Company.

The legislature meets in May and renewed effort will be made to subject franchises and corporate wealth to a just share of taxation.

Port Commission. The administration of the fourteen miles of wharves in the Port of New Orleans has, since June 1, 1901, passed from private lessees into the hands of a public board of Port Commissioners. The port charges have been greatly reduced, about 40 per cent, the purpose being to make New Orleans as nearly a free port as possible—by making the charges just sufficient to main-

[1] Contributed by B. R. Forman, Esq., New Orleans.

tain the wharves. Since 1897, the gross tonnage has increased from 2,926,369 to 4,239,582.

Cabinet Government. The New York *Nation* recently said that some Northern city had just begun the experiment of giving seats in the council to the executive and administrative officers—with a right to speak, but not to vote. I had sat at the feet of Gamaliel Bradford, and from his insistent advocacy in the *Nation* had borrowed the idea, and when I wrote the city charter of New Orleans in 1882, I inserted a section to that effect, and now for twenty years the executive and administrative officers of New Orleans have the legal right to seats in the council and to be heard on any question. I venture to say, that this was the earliest instance in which Mr. Gamaliel Bradford's ideas were incorporated in a public statute and put in practice.

Duluth.[1]—*The Board of Water and Light Commissioners* has just rendered its third annual account to the citizens of Duluth. The showing made is a pronounced triumph for municipal ownership. The board figures out a saving to the citizens of Duluth, under public management of the gas and water plants, of $273,546.78 in a period covering a little over three years, or from August 1, 1898, to January 1, 1902. This saving is directly referable to a reduction in rates and other charges and to economy of management.

To state the proposition in another way: The water rates have been steadily reduced since the plant passed under the control of the city. To quote the words of the report: "The water meter rate was formerly a sliding scale, starting at 5 cents for 100 gallons for a certain quantity. January 1, 1899, this was reduced to 4 cents, which prevailed through the years 1899 and 1900. January 1, 1901, this rate was further reduced to 3⅓ cents per 100 gallons, equal to two-thirds of the old 5 cent rate." The annual or flat rates remained practically unchanged until 1901, when they too were reduced 33⅓ per cent.

What makes the showing more remarkable, is the fact that the municipality expended, approximately, $1,000,000 for a supplementary water system, to insure a pure water supply and more efficient distribution, and that the consequent additional interest charge for the period named, aggregating $165,900, has been fully met out of the revenues of the system, notwithstanding the material reduction of the rates.

The efficiency of the Duluth management is shown by a comparative statement of the cost of pumping water. In Duluth the cost of raising one million gallons one foot high, in 1901, was $0.0292. In a table presented to the New England Water Works Association at

[1] Contributed by W. G. Joerns, Esq., Duluth, Minn.

their last meeting (see September, 1901, Journal of New England Water Works Association), this record appears as excelled by but two cities, "which were Providence, R. I., in its low service, and New Bedford, Mass. The rate of each of these was $0.0259." Possibly, on the basis of an equal cost of coal, the result would be still more favorable to Duluth.

The record of the gas plant is equally creditable to the public management. In 1898, when the gas works came under municipal control, the illuminating rate was $1.90 net and the fuel rate was $1.00 per thousand feet. The illuminating rate has since then, under municipal management, been reduced to $1.15 net, the fuel rate remaining unchanged. Under private management the gas plant never paid expenses, including fixed charges. Under municipal operation, not only have all expenses and charges been fully met, but the rate charged has been substantially reduced and the plant is, nevertheless, on a paying basis.

The present management has followed a liberal policy in the development of its patronage. All lamp supplies, gas-stoves, etc., have been furnished to patrons at cost, and competent inspectors have been constantly employed to examine the lights of the consumers, to repair or adjust at once and without charge in the case of lesser defects, to suggest changes and renewals in more important cases.

The result of the management is amply shown in the following table:

	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
Receipts for gas (cash) . .	$30,530	$30,979	$40,408	$45,493
Gas operating expense . .	. . .	$21,396	$25,412	$27,343
Gas meters (number) . . .	1,111	1,510	1,725	1,995
Gas sold (feet)	20,002,600	25,309,963	32,973,800	39,472,200

New Jersey State Civic Federation.[1]—The Civics Club of the Oranges, early in its efforts to remedy certain defects of our municipal and civic affairs, came to realize that certain questions naturally involved the interest of more than one municipality. These questions comprise all problems presented by electric and railway lines, such as referred to comfort in cars, heat, ventilation and sanitation; all matters of sewerage and sewage disposal, in which there was danger of pollution of streams, or in which such pollution was already a deplorable fact; everything pertaining to construction and the maintenance of roads; questions of taxation, especially such as involve the new thought of local option in taxation, and many others proved to acquire action

[1] Contributed by Adolph Roeder, Orange.

rather larger than that within the legitimate scope of a local club, though municipal and civic in nature. Hence the desirability of a State Civic Federation which could hold annual meetings for the exchange of thought and comparison of method in municipal affairs. Acting upon this thought, the president, Dr. Frank Caulkins Bunn, appointed a committee, consisting of Messrs. Adolph Roeder and Charles Maginn, to consider the matter. The committee sent out about 160 calls to postmasters, asking for the names of civic organizations in their respective towns. There were 133 responses. Sixty-six stated that there was no organization, 67 giving the name of an organization or of an official. To these a call was addressed to form such a state federation. A very satisfactory number of replies was received—enough to warrant going on with the work. The number of replies cannot yet be given, because most of the organizations are holding the matter under advisement, in most cases under favorable advisement. The committee felt warranted in calling for an increase in membership from its club, and was therefore increased by the addition of Messrs. John Dodd, Richard K. Mosley and Winthrop Waite. The first meeting of the state organization is being planned for some date in October, probably at the upper end of the state.

Province of Quebec:[1] **Minor Municipalities.**—*Charters.* The general statutes providing for the organization and government of the lesser municipalities of the Province of Quebec are worthy of careful study. They are not too detailed and inclusive, but allow local needs and conditions to be met by a supplementary charter, which each town must secure as a corporation. The number of councilors is fixed by the charter in each case and not by the general statutes, and there is less uniformity required than in those states where the minor municipalities are divided into classes, each governed by rigid statutes, covering the most minute details.

As in the larger cities of the province, the elective franchise is based upon a property qualification—that is, either the owning of real estate or its possession under lease. What it results in is really an extension of the suffrage to all house-holders and the exclusion of boarders and transients, who are not owners of property. The requirement is ownership of property valued at $200, or possession of premises of at least $20 rental value per year. To be qualified for the position of mayor or councilor a higher standard is required—a mayor must own property assessed at $1,000, a councilor must have $400. Furthermore, persons in holy orders, members of the Privy Council, officers of the British army and navy on full pay, hotel and tavern-keepers, and those having no fixed domicile are prohibited from occu-

[1] Contributed by Francis H. McLean, Montreal.

pying these offices. All persons qualified to hold office and who, after being duly elected to them, decline to serve, are subject to a fine. All other city officers are appointed by the city council and are removable through them.

Uniform Accounting. In January of each year the secretary-treasurer of a town corporation must submit to the provincial secretary a statement showing: (1) Name of town; (2) Value taxable real estate; (3) Estimated value of real estate not taxed; (4) Number persons paying taxes; (5) Value of the property of the corporation; (6) Amount of taxes collected; (7) All other sums collected by city; (8) Amount of arrears of taxes; (9) Capital amount due to consolidated municipal loan fund; (10) Amount of loans made by debentures; (11) Rate and amount of interest due on loans; (12) Amount of other debts; (13) Amount raised by loan; (14) Expenditure; (15) Number of persons resident in the city. The requirement of these uniform returns affords a good basis for the study of municipal statistics on the fiscal side.

Copies of the general orders of the city council must be sent to all corporations having their chief place of business in the city.

Public Improvements. The city may assist in general public improvements, such as the construction of bridges or of railroads, or the establishment of manufacturing plants, either by remitting taxes for a certain period, or making loans or buying bonds or stocks from private corporations. In cases where the city becomes financially interested, the action of the city council must be approved by a vote of the free-holders.

Among the general powers granted to the city council are: (1) The fixing of the weight of bread; (2) The regulation of markets; (3) The regulation of the conduct of apprentices, servants, hired persons, day laborers or journeymen towards their masters or employers.

Montreal.[1]—*General Responsibility for Local Improvement.* During the past winter the tax-payers of Montreal have been enabled to see with startling distinctness to exactly what lengths the policy of making the general city treasury responsible for purely local improvements, without joint responsibility of property owners in the district improved, will encourage raids upon that treasury. A short time ago, upon the petition of interested property owners, Notre Dame street, east, was widened and extended. During this process, much of the adjoining property was bought up by speculators. The value of this property was not increased by the improvements so much as was expected. This was partially, but only partially, due to the fact that other improvements carried through at the same time, both by

[1] Contributed by Francis H. McLean, Montreal.

private and public initiative, diverted traffic from Notre Dame street. The cost of the improvement amounted to several millions of dollars. During the session of the Provincial Parliament just ended, a bill was introduced to compel the city treasury to pay the entire cost of the improvement. When it is remembered that by this measure property owners who had already received large sums for the expropriation of land, would be released from any financial responsibility for an improvement which had, to a degree at least, enhanced the value of their remaining real estate, the peculiarly pernicious character of this bill will be better understood.

Outside of a small interested coterie, the sentiment of the city was as a unit against the measure. Aside from the gross injustice of the measure, there was the very practical fact that the city had already reached its debt limit, and that the payment of the costs of the Notre Dame extension would seriously cripple the ordinary and every-day operations of the municipal departments. Despite the efforts of very strong civic deputations, the bill was passed by the legislative assembly. After a hard struggle, however, it was disapproved by the upper chamber, the legislative council, by a vote of 11 to 8. It is hoped that the moral of this attempted legislation will impress itself upon the citizens of Montreal. It is but a natural off-shoot of the very vicious system of not placing sufficient financial responsibility upon local property owners for local improvements, a system peculiar to the Province of Quebec. This has resulted in a general inclination to secure release from just assessments by appealing to the provincial legislature, whenever possible, which provincial legislature is apt to be paternal.

II. SOCIOLOGY.

The Shakers in Ohio.—The passing away of the Shaker settlements is being discussed as a proof of the inherent weakness of communism. All these settlements were religious communistic communities, and the causes of the failure must be thoroughly investigated to determine to what extent they were due to religious discipline, form of government, or the communistic industrial organization.

The parent colony of the United States was founded at Mount Lebanon, N. Y., near the close of the eighteenth century. From this centre all the other colonies were governed. It is reported that a religious revival broke out in Kentucky in 1800, and that its influence was felt in the surrounding states. This was considered a favorable time for evangelizing, so three ministers were sent into Ohio in 1805 to win converts to the faith. Their work resulted in the establishment of a community at Union Village, near Lebanon, Ohio. Within a year after the colony was established it had a membership of 370. Four thousand five hundred acres were secured and from time to time large buildings were erected as homes for the people. North Union, near Cleveland, was established in 1822, and Westervelt, near Dayton, later. The North Union was so reduced by 1889 that it was abandoned, the property was sold, and the members joined the two other communities. Ten years later the Westervelt community was broken up and its members joined the Union Village. In 1901 the membership of the latter was reduced to forty-five, and while these people were living in apparent luxury, the end of the organization seemed near at hand. In 1823 there were over 4,000 Shakers in the United States, while in 1901 there were less than 600, so the situation in Ohio fairly reflects the decline of membership elsewhere.

Community of living is a part of their creed. Contact with those outside the community seems to have been disapproved, except when business affairs demanded it. To become members of the church it was necessary to sign the covenant pledging one's labor and support to the consecrated service. Minors were not admitted, but upon reaching their majority an opportunity was immediately given to sign the covenant. A union of the sexes in matrimony was disapproved, a celibate life being considered the highest and holiest. Marriage was considered not a Christian, but a civil institution.

A theocratic government prevailed. In the hierarchical régime, the ministry were first, the elders next, while the general members, who constituted the larger part of the membership, had no choice in the selection of the others, or in directing the affairs of the community.

The ruler was a sort of Benevolent Despot, and when the communities fell under the control of able men they prospered, but under inefficient men they declined. The Shakers did not vote nor take part in politics, and they would not go to war.

Upon the whole the communities were successful industrially. The members seemed to live well, and the communities possessed valuable property. The Union Village community lost a great deal by fire and through the defalcation of members in positions of trust, and at times, owing to these causes, it was deeply involved in debt.

The communities failed to remain intact through decline in membership. To this decline the views on marriage contributed largely. It is difficult to see how a religious community could remain intact long when evangelizing was not practiced, and where celibacy was a part of the creed. Schisms arose in the communities and many times they seemed to be at the point of breaking up. The freedom of the upper classes as compared with the restrictions on the common members seemed to be the cause of most of their outbreaks, in which many abandoned the communities. Upon the whole the experience of these communities seems to contribute but little to show the inherent weakness or strength of communism. On the other hand, religious enthusiasm caused individuals in the Shaker communities to tolerate communistic restrictions, as nothing else could, but on the other, the Shaker creed imposed restrictions and introduced disintegrating factors unnecessary to a purely communistic system.[1]

Sociology at the Paris Exposition of 1900.—Volume II of the report of the Commissioner of Education for 1899 and 1900 contains a somewhat extended report by Mr. Lester F. Ward on Sociology at the Paris Exposition of 1900. To the sociological movement all countries are contributing, the least interest, however, being manifested in England and the greatest in France. Contributors in the latter country are limited not alone to sociological theory, but to practical solutions of social questions, and to the general diffusion of social information.

One feature peculiar to the Paris Exposition was the organization of the International Association for the Advancement of Science, Arts and Education. It was felt that, while expositions furnish excellent object lessons for those who avail themselves of their advantages, there is need for direction and concentration of study in order that the greatest use may be made of them. To meet this need this organization attempted to reduce the apparent chaotic character of a portion of the exhibits to system by making them object-lessons pre-

[1] For a detailed discussion of this subject consult Dr. J. P. MacLean's article in the Ohio Archeological and Historical Quarterly of July, 1900, and January, 1902.

sented by lecturers who were authorities on their subjects. This made it possible for many to get out of the Exposition what an aimless and haphazard observation of things could not give. The Anglo-American group was under the managment of the eminent Scotch scientist and educator, Professor Patrick Geddes.

The Exposition furnished an opportunity for the holding of congresses in connection with it for the discussion of the principles and laws pertaining to the different sciences. Of the 105 of these, but two would come properly under the head of sociology: (1) The Congress for Instruction in the Social Sciences, and (2) the Congress of Social Education. A third, the International Institute of Sociology, should be considered in this connection, as it was advertised as one of the congresses of the Exposition, although organized nearly eight years before.

The first of these, organized under the auspices of the College Libre des Sciences Sociales of Paris, met on July 30th and its sessions did not close till August 3d. Its president was Dr. Ernest Delbet, deputy director and professor of positive sociology in the College Libre, and its secretary was Mlle. Dich May, secretary of the College Libre, and lecturer on social economics.

The programme, prepared by the committee of organization, was as follows:

"I. Universities, high schools, special schools; present condition of instruction in the social sciences in different countries; progress to be realized relative to the distribution of information.

II. Secondary and higher primary instruction; present status in different countries; progress to be realized; place that the economic organization of society should occupy in these branches.

III. Popular social instruction; present state of this instruction under its various forms; monograph of a popular curriculum of social studies in the different countries.

IV. Adoption of an international course of social instruction; exchange of personnel between the universities and the schools of different countries; formation of a fund for this purpose."

Distinguished educators in social fields were invited to prepare papers showing the character of instruction in the social sciences in lines in which each was interested. These were submitted for use by the congress, copies were distributed among members, and they became the subject-matter for discussion at the congress. Many of the writers of the papers were present and participated in the discussions. Reports were made by representatives of the following countries: France, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, Italy, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Russia, Great Britain and the United States. The reports were

not confined to sociology proper, but embraced practically the whole group of the social sciences. Hence, interest in the work of the congress cannot be limited to sociologists, but must include all workers in kindred fields.

What is being done in sociology in the various countries may be indicated by referring to a few reports read in Paris. Professor Gide reported on Advanced Instruction in the Social Sciences in France. "Sociology is not taught anywhere in the form of a regular course, which may be justified by the still rather badly defined character of that discipline—I dare not say of that science. Nevertheless, it is taught as a free course by three professors of philosophy of the faculty of letters, Durhheim at Bordeaux, Bougli at Montpelier, Bertrand at Lyon, and by one professor of the faculty of law at Toulouse, Haurion." The revival in the teaching of the social sciences has nearly all come about in the last twenty years. Aside from this, instruction on social subjects has been extensively popularized. "In certain workingmen's quarters of Paris there are several lectures every evening, and in certain cities of the province there are several lectures every week" (Gide). The report of M. Linnaird on the teaching of social sciences in secondary and primary instruction shows that elementary facts on society, its organization and history, with special attention to the family, are presented in the primary and secondary schools.

In the state universities of Ghent and Liege, in Belgium, the Université Libre de Bruxelles, and the Catholic University of Louvain, courses in the social sciences are given. The Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles, founded in 1894, under the rectorship of the noted sociologist, De Greef, was organized as a revolt against the conservatism of the other universities. It has a faculty of social science in which twenty-five courses are taught by forty professors. In it arrangements are made for lectures by distinguished foreigners in their special fields.

In Switzerland the Universities of Basel, Zurich, Bern, Geneva, Lausanne and Freiburg all teach the social sciences, but in only two of them, Geneva and Bern, are courses in sociology given. In the former, courses are given by Professor Vuarin, while in the latter they are given by the sociologist, M. Stein. But very little sociology is taught in Spain. At Ovideo courses are given on the sociology of Spencer and Fouillet. In the Institucion Libre de Ensinanza organized in Madrid, in 1876, by private funds, elementary facts concerning society and its organization are taught.

While the output of sociological literature of Italy almost equals that of any other country, instruction in the social sciences, according to the report of Alfredo Niciforo, is almost wholly wanting. "In each

university there are courses in political economy, statistics, the science of finance, the science of administration, etc. But these courses all last one year only, at the rate of three hours per week, and they are given much less importance than is accorded to the juridical sciences taught in the same universities, the teaching of which often lasts two or three consecutive years" (Niciforo). In but one institution, the Institute of Social Science at Florence, is instruction devoted to the social sciences alone. But here the standards for admission and the scholarships are so low that but very little influence is exerted. Education in Italy is still very largely along classical lines; and the men who have done so much to enrich the literature of the social sciences are not connected with the regular institutions of the country.

Professor Barth, of the University of Leipzig, reported on sociological instruction in Germany. He stated that there is no university in Germany, or in Austria, or in Switzerland, that possesses a chair in sociology, properly so called. It is, on the contrary, everywhere the representatives of the older sciences allied to sociology, or the ones out of which it has sprung (philosophy, political science, ethnology, etc.), who admit the study of social theories in their courses. Nor do these all do so; but a certain number do something of the kind, so that there are scarcely any universities totally deprived of sociological instruction. In this connection mention ought to be made of the work of Simmel, of the University of Berlin, who has been giving a course in sociology nearly every semester for the last six years.

In the Popular University of Vienna, which is an outgrowth of the University of Vienna, all subjects which lend themselves to popular exposition are taught. Although the laws forbid the teaching of questions which relate to political, religious and social controversies, the social sciences are very generally presented. In Russia, the report shows considerable activity in the universities along the lines of economics and statistics, but very little seems to be done in sociology.

Five reports were made in the teaching of the social sciences in England. To most English readers it is well known that practically no instruction is given in the social sciences in the English universities. Mr. Ernest Aves, of Toynbee Hall, in his report on the "Present Conditions of Popular Social Instruction in Great Britain," prepares the reader for much that is to follow in saying: "I have been often reminded of the celebrated chapter of a celebrated writer on snakes in Ireland. 'There are none,' he wrote; 'and as I, too, have been tempted to think, at times, that of *l'enseignement populaire social* in this country, there is none, would be a true statement.'"

The reports of Mr. E. E. Hill, on the teaching of social sciences in the secondary schools of the United States, and by Mr. Henry W.

Thurston, on the teaching of social sciences in the elementary schools, are clear statements of the work done by institutions of this class. Most of the work is incidental, and the thoroughness of the instruction depends upon the special training of particular teachers. There seems to be a demand for the co-ordination and unification of work of this class in the United States, with a view to emphasizing the social significance of things. It is to be regretted that no report was made on the work being done in the social sciences in the colleges and universities of the United States, for judging from the reports made, the work in the American universities in the social sciences compares very favorably with that of any other country. In sociology proper, more universities are offering courses, and the courses offered in some of them cover a wider scope than those offered in any other country.

At the conclusion of its sessions, this congress was organized into a Permanent International Congress for the teaching of the social sciences. The last report was read by Mlle. Dich May, the general secretary, on the creation of a system of international social instruction in France, in which she advocated the establishment of a permanent congress. The recommendations she made, which as amended form the basis of organization of the new congress, are as follows:

ARTICLE I. The International Congress for instruction in the social sciences shall meet every two years. The places of meeting of each session shall be fixed at the preceding session by a vote of the congress.

ARTICLE II. A permanent international committee shall transact the business of the congress in the interval between the sessions. The committee shall be located in Paris, in the rooms of the École des Hautes Études Sociales. It shall choose its officers from among its members, who are subject to re-election at each session of the congress.

ARTICLE III. International social instruction shall be organized in all countries that shall request it of the committee. The permanent committee is charged with facilitating the international circulation of the teaching body.

ARTICLE IV. The establishing of an international social fund is intrusted to the care of the permanent committee.

The Congress of Social Education met in September, from the twenty-sixth to the twenty-ninth. The purpose of the congress, and the nature of its programme, is clearly stated in the circular of the original announcement, issued in 1899, from which is taken what follows: "Political and social discussions, that have been agitating men's minds since the middle of the nineteenth century, have gradually resulted in one idea, which has received the assent of very different minds, viz., the idea of a social bond existing among individuals, and of their mutal responsibility in social matters.

"Hence the necessity of determining, both from the data of experimental science and with a view of satisfying the idea of justice, the conditions of association to be voluntarily established among all men; and this, not merely for the determination of political rights and duties, but also and especially for defining the rights and duties which affect the material and moral life of individuals, the legal status of the family, the organization of labor, and, in a word, for the definition of social rights and duties.

"To make this idea penetrate the mind—to bring about, in short, the education of the social sense of humanity—is the task which henceforth devolves upon those who seek a peaceful solution of the social problem. The search for the means to this end is the object of the effort which we here propose."

The International Institute of Sociology held its meeting of 1900, as one of the congresses of the Exposition, in rooms of the Sarbonne from September 25th to the 29th. This association, open only to experienced investigators, was formed in 1893 for the purpose of scientific research in sociology, and it numbers among its members the most eminent sociologists of all countries. From the outset it has published annually the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, a magazine of very high standing. The programme of the Congress of 1900 consisted of five topics: "The Clan," by Kovalevsky; "The Artificial Family," by Guerin; "Social Mechanics,"[1] by Lester F. Ward; "Historical Materialism," by Baron Casimir de Kelles-Kraug; and "Industrial Associations and Strikes," by Albert Jaffé.

The Social Settlement, Columbus, Ohio.[2]—As the capital of Ohio and a city of nearly 150,000 inhabitants, Columbus affords a wide field for philanthropic and charitable effort, and for economic and sociological study. It is a laboratory containing most valuable material for students and investigators of social and industrial subjects, because it is a manufacturing and railroad centre with industries giving rise to industrial and labor problems, and because its geographical location and its railroads throw upon it a floating population of considerable numbers.

Conditions, which the sick and poor create in any large city, have invested Columbus with all the responsibilities which 150,000 inhabitants involve. In attempting to meet them it has been most generous with its hospitals and homes, while showing an almost total neglect of that middle class, which is neither hungry nor sick, but socially starved—a stratum of society which lives in the same streets, with

[1] The material for this article has been taken from the above-mentioned excellent report of Lester F Ward.

[2] Contributed by Florence Louise Bell, Ph. B., Ohio State University.

those needing charity, but themselves, wanting of it. Seven or eight hospitals and as many homes for orphan children and the aged, benevolent societies, missions, and the Young Women's Christian Association, all fill splendid needs and have fields for practically distinct operation.

A social settlement or guild was established in Columbus to supply needs unfilled by any other agency. The movement was begun early in the spring of 1898, and was sympathetically supported by two graduates of Ohio State University, and by Dr. Edward Orton and Dr. James H. Canfield, then president of the University. The organization was effected under the name of "The First Neighborhood Guild," Dr. Canfield was made president of the Guild Council, which from a membership of fifteen has grown to twenty-five. In addition to the council, permanent standing committees were appointed which have directed the settlement's activities. The services of Mr. and Mrs. Franklin Schott were secured for "residents," and they have continued in the work to the present time with most satisfactory results to the council and the neighborhood alike. A tenement house of five rooms was rented at 465 West Goodale street, on January 19, 1899. Prominent citizens interesting themselves in the Guild, lent practical as well as sympathetic encouragement to its endeavor, and in the fall of 1900, a modern scientific guild house was built as the result of a gift by Mr. Henry Godman who endowed the Guild with $20,000, in addition to generous gifts previously made.

The Guild district bears the distinct impress of social isolation. The streets are ill-paved or are not paved at all, the sidewalks are ragged, and the gutters are dirty. Rows of fairly good brick and frame houses suggest better days. In some squares are shops, with a variety of appearance. For three-fourths of a mile, on Goodale street, the street is lined with shops of butchers and grocers, barbers' establishments, dingy and gorgeous saloons, all crowded in between uninviting dwellings more or less adorned by board and lodging signs.

A public school stands to the southwest, and another a half-dozen squares to the north, but both are too far out of range to exert the influence needed on the children of the neighborhood. Two years ago a truant officer could spend all his time looking after the 500 children of the district. But one girl attended school in the district, while boys were not expected to attend. Now there are between twenty-five and thirty pupils attending the High School and at least half of them are boys.

There is little to be said concerning the industrial side of the neighborhood life. There are five foundries and factories, the largest of which, the United States Pipe and Foundry Company, now controlled

by the United States Steel Corporation, employs over four hundred men. The Pan-Handle Brass Factory, the Big Four Round House, together with a few foundries, employ a large number of men. The labor employed is largely unskilled, consequently the average intelligence of the workers is low. It was the coming in of this grade of cheap labor which at first marked the decline of this section of Columbus. An iron foundry was established here in 1870 and large numbers of Germans, Irish and Swedes, from Northern Ohio and Western Pennsylvania, came here for employment. They formed a fair-sized colony and built houses. In the early 80's, however, the foundry was shut down, and the once prosperous district began a period of decline. The elements of foreign population mentioned still exist. It is impossible to classify them by streets or squares, for they are inextricably mixed—Germans, Irish, Italians and Americans living sometimes under one roof. There are but few colored; the Italians number less than a dozen families.

In the whole district there is not a single church. One of the Methodist denomination lies on the boundary, but exerts no influence whatever on the field at its doors. The Hague Mission is in the heart of the neighborhood, but exerts but little influence upon the people. There is, however, one wholesome influence contributed by a Congregational mission Sunday-school. These influences compete against fifteen saloons, where gambling and card-playing flourish at all hours. Both the Congregational Sunday-school and the Hague Mission are looked upon as outside institutions, and the people do not take the personal interest in them which they have in the "Godman Guild."

In outlining the work to be done by the settlement no definite plan was formulated. The workers let the enterprise expand as it would, and classes and clubs were organized as fast as wanted. In such surroundings opportunities for work and extension were almost boundless. The council realized, however, that to extend the scope of the Guild influence too widely was to destroy it at the outset.

One of the most successful enterprises has been the Domestic Science classes. Five classes of girls, with an enrollment of sixty-five, are taught lessons in practical cooking and how to make the home attractive. At the close of the first course a reception was given to the mothers of the club members. The leaders of this most practical department are young women who have received the training in domestic science at the State University. One hundred and fifty-five girls are enrolled in the sewing classes. The courses, which are systematically outlined by college women who know the principles of domestic art, are adapted to youngest beginners as well as young women, who are instructed in cutting and fitting garments. Proofs

are appearing from month to month of substantial sort that the work is meeting practical needs.

Much is expected from the kindergarten, as children enjoy five mornings a week under the wholesome influence of four trained teachers. The Mothers' Club is a medium between the Guild and the Neighborhood. The membership in a few months increased to sixty-five, and has since increased until it is only limited by what the Guild rooms can accommodate. The programmes, given once in two weeks, comprise good music and interesting talks by women of college training and culture. They are upon practical subjects, such as the rearing of children, the sanitary care of disease, the relation of the mother to the child's education, etc. There exists the utmost friendliness and interest between these women, who vary in experience from the sturdy German woman with thirteen children to the timid wife of eighteen years.

There are five boys' clubs, whose members vary in age from ten to twenty-two. A boys' manual training class, six gymnasium classes, and smoking, reading and library rooms, open every day and evening, make ample provision for men and boys of all ages and tastes. The public baths are very popular, 130 taking advantage of them each month.

The total number of clubs and classes at present is thirty. An average of 275 people come to the Godman Guild House daily. But in addition to all the class and club work, conducted by outside workers, there is a vast amount that is performed by the residents alone. It is left to them to create that atmosphere which will invite or repel. The entire confidence of the people has been won through the ministration of friendly visiting.

The positive results of the Guild can not be accurately estimated at the end of a little more than two years. A distinct improvement has taken place in yards, house fronts, and pavements. An *esprit de corps* has been created since the coming into the neighborhood of a clean and well ordered model. Changes in the dress, manners and speech of the people have been marked by the Guild workers as signs of still deeper changes taking place in the community.

III. PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

The Warfare Against Consumption.—Although still in its initial stages the active crusade against pulmonary tuberculosis is constantly enlisting new recruits and receiving ever increasing attention. The New York Department of Public Charities has established experimentally a pavilion for consumptive patients on Blackwell's Island, in one of the buildings vacated when the insane were removed from that island. The experience of the first month is distinctly encouraging, the average gain for the twenty-eight least advanced cases being three pounds. It is expected that eventually a separate hospital with a distinct medical service and management may be organized with accommodations for 350 patients.

The New York Academy of Medicine, while approving the above plan, has also initiated a movement for the establishment of a local sanatorium for incipient cases. The state hospital for incipient cases has also, after long delays, approved contracts for the purchase of a site at Ray Brook in the Adirondacks, and it is expected that the hospital buildings will be ready for occupancy by autumn. In the Rhode Island Legislature a bill has been passed for the establishment of a state sanatorium for consumptives with an appropriation for the purpose of procuring plans and specifications and the option on real estate; and in Maryland a bill has been introduced providing for the appointment of a state commission to investigate the subject. In New York a society for the prevention of tuberculosis, representative both of the medical profession and of laymen interested in this crusade, is in process of organization. Its scope will be identical with that of similar societies in Pennsylvania and other states, and in several European countries.

A bill has been introduced in the Massachusetts Legislature providing for an appropriation of $150,000 for the purchase of a suitable site and for the construction of a new hospital for consumptives. The state already has such an institution at Rutland, which has recently been enlarged through the appropriation of $110,000 made by the Legislature in 1901. The additional accommodations provide for seventy-five patients, making the total capacity 250.

Senator W. T. A. Fitzgerald, who has introduced the latest bill, contends that there is urgent need for the new institution. He claims that there were 20,000 cases of consumption in Massachusetts last year and 6,000 deaths; that not more than one-fifth of the patients suitable for admission at Rutland apply for examination because of

the well-known fact that the institution is always full and the chances for admission not good. As it was, more than 200 of the admittedly incipient cases were refused accommodations because of the lack of room. Finally, it is believed that the sexes should be separated, and that there should be an institution for the male patients and one for the female patients.

Prizes amounting to $4,000 have been offered by the committee appointed by the King of England for the best description of a complete sanatorium for tuberculous patients, under the following conditions: Plans may be sent in by a physician alone, or by a physician and an architect, for a sanatorium to accommodate fifty men and fifty women, eighty-eight beds to be for free patients, and twelve for private patients, each patient to have a separate room. The sanatorium will be on high ground, open to the sun, and protected from cold winds, with dairy, park, woods and a good water supply. It will contain the newest hygienic appliances, and is to be modern in all respects. Three prizes of $2,000, $1,000 and $500 will be awarded for the best works on the subject. The committee in charge of this competition consists of Sir William Broadbent, Sir Richard Douglas Powell, Sir Francis Laking, Sir Felix Semon, Sir Hermann Weber and Dr. C. Theodore Williams.

Lodgings for the Homeless and the Repression of Vagrancy.—The Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity has distributed among its constituency 10,000 pamphlets with the caption, "Concerning Tramps and Beggars." The directors of the society announce the receipt of a gift amounting to $50,000, for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a model wayfarers' lodge and woodyard. The building, which is now in course of erection at 1720 Lombard Street, is briefly described in this attractive little book, together with some expert testimony as to the best way of dealing with tramps and beggars. The Philadelphia society already maintains two lodges, where lodging, meals and bath may be had for at least three days in exchange for work. Last year over 33,000 lodgings and 60,000 meals were worked for. The capacity of the Southern Lodge will be more than trebled when the new building is completed, the increase being from 60 to 208 beds.

Work was begun on the new building in September. Fireproof construction has been adopted, and special emphasis has been placed on four things—ample bathing and disinfecting facilities, thoroughly good ventilation, plenty of cubic air space for each sleeper (there will be no double-deckers), and every precaution against fire. "We believe in working the able-bodied men hard during the three or four hours that they are expected to work," the announcement says, "and

then in treating them like men. To this end a large assembly and reading room is provided on the first floor and a smoking-room for those who prefer it in the basement. The men will have a chance to wash their underclothing. Cleanliness and good discipline will be strictly enforced."

The floor plans, which are printed in the pamphlet, show in detail the method of dealing with lodgers which is to be adopted. In the basement are the storage bins for the wood, the stables, tool-room and smoking room. The assembly room, on the first floor, will be open in the evening. It may also be used at times for social and religious meetings. Any well-accredited religious association will be encouraged to hold meetings there at suitable seasons, though attendance will not be made compulsory. The second floor will be devoted to the men's dormitories, baths and compartments where they may wash their clothing. The dining-room, kitchen, store-room and additional dormitories for men are on the third floor. On the fourth floor sixteen beds will be provided for homeless women, separated from all communication with the men's apartments. It is not the purpose of this institution to shelter many women, as other shelters under good management are already provided, but emergency cases will be received here. The laundry work of the institution will be done on this floor. It is expected that the building will be completed and ready for use early in May, 1902.

In Chicago.—The police station-houses of Chicago are not now used as free lodging-houses. Commenting upon the order of the superintendent of police, introducing the change of policy, the official organ of the Bureau of Charities says:

"The unenviable notoriety which Chicago has suffered for years as a Mecca for tramps has undoubtedly been due in large measure to the free police-station lodgings provided here, and to the accompanying freedom from arrest which has prevailed. . . . Every police station has been a headquarters from which daily during the winter has issued a group or swarm of beggars to prey upon the neighboring resident districts. So long as the city provided free lodgings without food, the private citizens had to provide food."

A new municipal lodging-house supported by the city, but managed by the City Homes Association, was opened in December, 1901, Mr. Robert Hunter, Organizing Secretary of the Bureau of Charities, taking temporary charge. Mr. Hunter reports that there has been a steady falling off in the number of applications for lodgings since the institution was opened. The attendance at first ran from 180 to 200; it now seldom exceeds 100, and is often as small as 50, averaging 73 for the first two months. Fifteen hundred different lodgers were

entertained. The lodgers are expected to do a specified amount of work on the streets on the following morning, and this has discouraged the professional tramps from applying.

In Boston.—Mr. Edward Riley, who has been superintendent of the Wayfarers' Lodge in Boston for twenty-one years, asserts that no tramp has applied there for lodging in five years. The lodge has beds for 150 men, and throughout the winter its average is about 125 per night. They are required to cut a certain amount of wood to pay for their accommodation.

"The men who come here," says the superintendent, "are men who do outdoor work in the summer on the sewers and railroads or on the farms. They live from hand to mouth; when their job is done they have little on hand, and then they drift from city to city looking for work. Sometimes they come to town with $20 or $30, and after a night's drunk they are in the woodyard.

"Another class of men are mill hands out of employment, going between Fall River and Lowell, from the big mill towns to north of us to the big mill towns to south of us, and back again. Boston is the natural stopping place. If they get here at night they can earn their lodging and breakfast for two hours' work in the morning. They are a good crowd to work, too. In ten years we have not made an arrest here. It was not so in our first ten years. We had plenty of real tramps to deal with then. Sometimes a man would just sit down and say he wouldn't work. He had to go to court then. Before this place was established the tramps used to lodge in the station-houses. There was no way to clean them, no way to make them work for their board.

"There aren't any tramps to speak of in Massachusetts. There's a state law here now that makes it a crime to beg, except of the proper authorities, and the proper authorities make them work for what they get. There's no use denying it, a tramp doesn't like to work. So they steer pretty clear of Massachusetts, summer and winter."

In New York.—The State Charities Aid Association in its annual report comments as follows on the New York City Lodging House at 398 First Avenue:

"Although the Lodging House has been open but a few years, it has more than justified the expense of establishing and maintaining it. The degree of its usefulness to the community is largely a question of proper administration, and the Lodging House has been on the whole very well conducted during the past year. Scrupulous cleanliness and order have obtained and the evils of "rounding" have been fought constantly. There is always danger that such an institution will increase the tramp evil, and an attempt is made to guard against this by the general rule that any lodger who presents himself more than

three nights in succession shall be taken to court and committed as a vagrant.

"Any person without money who applies for admission is received, his name, address and last place of employment taken, and these references are looked up the next day. Those of the lodgers whose references are unfavorable or falsely given, and most of those who overstep the three-night rule, are taken before a magistrate and are usually committed to the workhouse. If the appearance of an applicant indicates illness, or he states that he is ill, he is examined by a physician and given medical treatment, otherwise he is given a plain supper of bread and coffee, a shower bath and a clean bed, his clothes are thoroughly fumigated during the night, and in the morning he is given a simple meal."

The Committee on Mendicancy of the Charity Organization Society has undertaken a more systematic and active prosecution of the repression of begging in the public streets of the city. Mr. James Forbes, a former district agent of the society, has been assigned to the committee. Although as a precautionary measure the special agent has been made a police officer, it is not the expectation that he will himself officially make arrests, but that he will serve as a constant medium of communication between the public and the society on the one hand and the responsible officials of the Police Department and precincts on the other. The work of the committee is placed upon a more permanent basis by the organization of a central bureau of records and there is assurance of close co-operation, not only on the part of the special officers who patrol in citizen's clothes and are free to clear up particular localities regarding which complaints are received, but also on the part of the regular officers of the department.

Charities and Public Efficiency.—The close relation between good work in private charitable societies and a better administration of city government was urged as a claim for a wider appeal for public support by the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, at its annual meeting in February.

After a reference to the large number of appointments by the reform administration in New York City of persons who had had experience in the practical work of organized charity, the report of the Board of Directors adds: "We could extend this list, but it is sufficient to illustrate—not that private charity is a convenient ladder for the public office-seeker, for the men selected are above that suspicion—but that good, private charitable work, if raised to the highest degree of efficiency and then liberally supported, can be of the greatest service to a good mayor in his efforts to give good government to his city. We cannot hope to do the larger tasks well until many citizens have

gone to school to private charity's smaller task, have learned by personal contact the way in which bad government oppresses the poor, and have come to appreciate the real needs of the many elements that make up an American city."

Classification of Exhibits at the St. Louis Fair.—The scheme of classification adopted for the World's Fair to be held in St. Louis in 1903 provides for fifteen different departments. That of Social Economy includes, as one of thirteen different subdivisions, a group entitled "charities and corrections." This group is again subdivided into seven classes: namely, destitute, neglected and delinquent children; institutional care of destitute adults; the care and relief of needy families in their homes; hospitals, dispensaries and nursing; the insane, feeble-minded and epileptic; the treatment and identification of criminals; supervisory and educational movements. The classification is based upon that adopted for the series of historical studies on "American Philanthropy of the Nineteenth Century," published in *Charities* and its predecessor the *Charities Review*. One division, which in the *Review's* classification was called "preventive work," is transferred to another group.

The titles of the main groups of the Department of Social Economy are as follows: Study and investigation of social and economic conditions; economic resources and organization; state regulation of industry and labor; organization of industrial workers; methods of industrial remuneration; co-operative institutions; provident institutions; housing of the working classes; the liquor question; general betterment movements; public health; municipal improvement; and charities and corrections.

Outdoor Relief in Buffalo.—At the annual meeting of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society it was reported that the city administration had reduced its outdoor relief by $80,000 in the last three years, but that there had been no increase in poverty in that time and little increase in the demands made upon the society for assistance.

The Study of Infectious Diseases.—The Institute for Infectious Diseases, endowed with $1,000,000 by Mr. and Mrs. Harold McCormick, of Chicago, will be devoted to the study and scientific investigation of infectious diseases. Dr. Ludwig Hektoen, at present connected with the Rush Medical College of the University of Chicago, has been appointed director of the institute and has selected as one of his assistants Dr. George H. Weaver, of Chicago. The institute has been incorporated and the work is already under way in temporary, rented quarters. When a suitable site has been found a permanent building will be erected.

Visiting Nurse Societies.—A valuable brief history of Visiting Nurse Work in America was presented at the Congress of Nurses in Buffalo in September, 1901, by Miss Harriet Fulmer, Superintendent of the Visiting Nurse Association of Chicago; and this address has been printed in the March number of the "American Journal of Nursing." The paper gives a brief statement in alphabetical order of all the societies at present operating in America, and of the special arrangements for visiting nurses when these are not in charge of a separate society.

The oldest of the visiting nurse societies is in Boston, having been organized in 1886. Fourteen nurses there work in connection with the dispensary physicians connected with the Boston Dispensary, established in 1796. This association is known as the Instructive District Nursing Association. The Visiting Nurse Association, of Chicago, was organized in 1890. Fifteen nurses are employed. It has also a staff of untrained women who are sent to remain in the home. It is non-sectarian, neutral and exclusively a public charity, supported by voluntary contributions, fees and legacies. The Association is managed by a Board of Directors of thirty-two women, and co-operates with all the organized charities of the city. It gives only nursing and medical care, and only such relief as pertains to the sick. The paramount object is instruction to the people in sanitary laws and hygiene and the care of their own families in time of illness. The newest of the fifty-three societies described is that of Hartford, which was started in February, 1901, and has one nurse.

Miss Fulmer quotes with approval the assertion "that the district visiting nurse work is the best means at the smallest cost of helping the conditions of the poor, sick or well."

Hull House.—Hull House was the first Social Settlement in Chicago, and is now the admiration and incentive of all the rest. Opened in 1899 with one building not too well suited to Settlement needs, it comprises now a group of six buildings, clustered about Polk, Halsted and Ewing Streets. There is no organization back of the Hull House, save a board of seven trustees, and these substantial improvements have been made possible by individual donors.

Many public entertainments are given in the auditorium—lectures, concerts and dramatics. Besides the classes common to all the settlements, Hull House has grammar school and college extension classes; classes in the history of art and music; classes in pottery, clay-modeling, metal work and wood-carving. A visiting nurse and a probation officer are in residence here, and a branch of the Chicago Post-Office is located in the coffee-house. The work for children, carried on in a building especially for them, is of the same nature, but on a larger

scale, as in other Settlements. The Day-Nursery, like the one in Eli Bates House, is a very important feature.

The most recent undertaking at Hull House is the Labor Museum, which is intended to demonstrate the development of the various industries from their respective forms to their present condition. It is hoped that this will give an historic perspective to manufacturers, and help workers feel a great interest—and therefore pleasure—in their task. The museum is at present most completely illustrated in the Textile Room, where spinning and weaving are done by foreigners familiar with the simpler processes in their own countries.

Legislation in New York.—The constructive and routine work of the state charitable institutions and the state hospitals for the insane in New York, of the State Board of Charities and of the State Commission in Lunacy have all been much disturbed and hampered by an attack instituted by the Governor and some of the leaders of the majority party in the Legislature against the existing system of state care for public dependents. The special point of attack was the unpaid local boards of managers upon whom the responsibility for the various institutions has heretofore rested.

In the case of the hospitals for the insane the attack has been successful in face of the united opposition of the charitable societies, of private citizens who have taken any active interest in the welfare of the insane, of nearly the entire newspaper press, of the medical societies and of every other organ of public opinion entitled to respect. The law which has been enacted transfers the management of the eleven state hospitals from the unpaid boards to the Commission in Lunacy, consisting of three paid members, one of whom is a physician, one a lawyer and one a "business man."

With this change there is an incidental transfer of an expenditure of nearly $5,000,000 to the body which, under the constitution, is charged with the duty of inspecting and supervising this very expenditure. It is understood that the constitutionality of this act is likely to be tested in the courts on the ground chiefly that the same body cannot legally do the work which it is its duty to inspect.

A similar change was contemplated in the management of the state charitable institutions, but the strain of passing the Insane Hospitals bill appears to have discouraged the promoters of the plan, and the measure which has been introduced provides simply that the Governor may remove any superintendent or steward of the institutions on charges, without himself having the power to appoint a successor, and transfers to a newly created state official certain inspection and supervision which has heretofore been performed in the office of the State Comptroller.

Supervision of Child-Saving Agencies in Ontario.—A unique and apparently exceptionally effective system of caring for neglected children is in operation in the province of Ontario. The ninth report of the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, for the year 1901, has been submitted to the Attorney-General. It appears that there are in Ontario thirty children's aid societies engaged under the provisions of the Children's Protective Act in befriending neglected, destitute and orphan children.

The tendency is favorable to the foster home; and institutions, while still popular, are more than ever being regarded as better suited for the retention of defective children than for healthy boys and girls. Sixteen hundred children who have been placed in foster homes are registered in the office of the superintendent and are regularly visited and reported upon. These reports appear to establish the fact that the children placed out under this system are growing up contentedly, and are merged into the ordinary life of the community with a remarkable absence of unjust or unreasonable treatment. The extension of supervision to children placed out by orphanages and other institutions would be a great public gain, as it would eradicate the overwork and abuse so often complained of in this connection. The immigration of children from Great Britain, which for many years was carried on without restriction, is now under supervision and is conducted with due regard to the interests both of the children and of this province.

The superintendent, however, acknowledges that in spite of all the efforts put forth, many children continue to be neglected and are growing up to recruit the ranks of the criminals, the tramps and the worthless. There is room and opportunity for a much more aggressive work, and an urgent need for a greater degree of co-operation among Christian and benevolent organizations, so that all children may have a chance to grow up to honorable and useful citizenship.

The adoption of the Ohio law, enforcing responsibility of parents, is recommended. It is suggested that the time may have arrived when some limitation should be put on the establishment of new orphanages and children's homes. The importance of accurate records is urged and greater courage in dealing with defective children.

The report, which is a closely printed pamphlet of 109 pages, publishes details of the work of the various placing-out societies and industrial schools.

The Cuban Conference.—At the first Cuban Conference of Charities and Corrections, held in Havana, March 19 to 22, the following addresses were delivered by delegates from the United States:

Miss Mary E. Richmond, General Secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, "Co-operation," and "Needy Families in Their Homes;" Mr. John M. Glenn, President of the National Conference of Charities and Correction of 1901, "What a Conference Can Do," and "Public and Private Charity;" Professor W. O. Atwater, Professor of Chemistry at Wesleyan University, "Diet for Insane," and "Diet for Children in Reformatories;" Mr. Edward T. Devine, General Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York, "Charity and the Organization of Charities," and "Needy Families in Their Homes;" Dr. A. B. Richardson, Superintendent of the Government Hospital for the Insane, Washington, D. C., "The Assistance and General Care of the Insane," and "Limit of Time for Observation;" Mr. Franklin H. Nibecker, Superintendent of the House of Refuge, Glen Mills, Pa., "The Merit and Demerit System in Reformatories," and "Reformatory Work;" Mr. Charles W. Birtwell, General Secretary of the Boston Children's Aid Society, "Placing Children in Families;" and Mr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, President of the Department of Public Charities, Baltimore, "Progress in Municipal Administration."

The membership of the Conference exceeded one thousand. The volume of proceedings will probably be printed in both Spanish and English. Among the practical fruits of the Conference is expected to be the establishment of a Charity Organization Society in Havana. It was decided to hold the next Conference in Santiago de Cuba in May, 1903. The Secretary for the second Conference is Dr. Julio San Martin, Havana.

IV. NOTES ON COLONIES AND COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

Hawaii.—An interesting feature of political conditions in all the new dependencies is seen in the nature of the issues presented by the various political parties. One of the issues which may be found in all the new party platforms is the demand for greater independence. While in Hawaii this demand has been fairly met by the organic act creating the present territorial government, recently a new form of the question has arisen in the shape of a claim for local and municipal home rule. The local organization of Hawaii is as yet undeveloped, being in the elementary stage established by the old monarchy, and the demand for local institutions has become so strong that a new Home Rule Republican party has been formed in some of the legislative districts. The following are the principal features of its platform:

The establishment of counties in the territory and provision for their separate government.

The enactment of a general municipal program under which the cities and towns of the territory may be incorporated.

The protection and advancement of the interests of the industrial classes of the territory.

The regulation of the sources of revenue, including the adjustment of charges on all public utilities operated by the government, so that their operation shall yield the yearly pro rata of revenue required to meet the indebtedness incurred in their construction and maintenance, and no more.

A loan act providing for a bond issue, as permitted by the organic act of the territory, the proceeds to be expended solely for productive works.

The apportionment of senators for the two and four-year terms, in accordance with the organic act creating the territory.

Cuba.—Arrangements have been completed for the evacuation of Cuba by the American forces under General Wood. On May 20th Governor Wood, his staff and the greater number of American troops will embark for home. A small number will be left behind to man the coast defences, until the new government shall have designated Cubans to replace them. While little attention has been attracted by the preparations up to the present time, the event is one which will doubtless receive attention throughout the world; European nations, particularly, have been somewhat slow to acknowledge the disinterested motives of American interference in Cuban affairs, and it is, therefore, a matter for congratulation that the United States has

been able to prove beyond the possibility of a doubt the nature of its original intentions. The American authorities have arranged with President Palma for the immediate appointment of a large number of Cubans in the more important administrative positions, so as to avoid the effects of a sudden and complete change in the central executive.

In reviewing the work of the American administration of Cuban affairs, there is perhaps no one activity of the American authorities which will be so gratefully remembered by the Cuban people as the sanitary reforms recently introduced. Attention has been called in a former number of the ANNALS to one aspect of this work; it may now be of interest to summarize briefly the achievements of the American officials in Havana, the hotbed of unsanitary conditions, as reported to the Insular Division of the War Department.

While there has been a steady and general improvement in the sanitary condition of Havana, the great work accomplished this year by the Sanitary Department has been the exclusion of yellow fever from the city; it is believed that this has been due to measures, for the first time adopted and carried out in Cuba, and based upon certain scientific facts established by the Army Board.

To make clear the claim that Havana has been purged from yellow fever during the past year by the destruction of infected mosquitoes, the history of the city with regard to yellow fever during the past hundred years, should be considered. During that period yellow fever has always been epidemic in Havana, up to 1901. Sanitary measures, which had reduced the excessive death rate of Havana to that of healthy cities of civilized countries, had had little or no effect upon yellow fever. General disinfection, as carried out for other infectious and contagious diseases, had been most extensively and faithfully tried, but yellow fever only disappeared upon the introduction of a system whose object was the destruction of infected mosquitoes, based upon the theory that the Stegomyia mosquito is the *only* means of transmitting yellow fever. From the 28th of September, 1901, to February 15, 1902, there has not been a single case of yellow fever in Havana, a condition of affairs so unusual that all question of chance can be dropped from consideration. During the past forty-five years, with scarcely an exception, some deaths have occurred from yellow fever in every month of the year, the maximum—2,058 deaths—occurred in 1857; the minimum—51 deaths—occurred in 1866; an average of 751.44. For the year 1901, in which the new system was adopted, there occurred only 18 deaths, and 12 of these deaths occurred before the new system was put into effect. Definite data still in existence warrant the belief that it has been epidemic in Havana since the English occupation in 1762.

The general sanitary methods adopted by the American administration upon its occupation in January, 1899, had a rapid effect in reducing the general mortality. In 1898, the last year of Spanish occupation, Havana had 21,252 deaths; in 1899, the first year of American occupation, 8,153 deaths; the next year, 1900, 6,102 deaths and 1901, 5,720 deaths, which would be a small number of deaths for cities of similar size in any civilized country. This is a much smaller number of deaths than had ever occurred for a year in Havana before. For the past thirty-one years the maximum death rate occurred in 1898, when it was 91.03 per 1,000; the minimum in 1885, 29.30; average, 41.55. This year it is 22.11.

The data above given would indicate that the general hygienic conditions of Havana at the end of 1899 were better, by far, than they had ever been before, but the facts as to yellow fever were very different.

In 1898, on account of the Spanish war, there was very little immigration to the city and therefore there were few non-immunes to contract yellow fever. During this year there were only 136 deaths from the disease.

The next year, 1899, there was little or no immigration during the first six months, consequently few non-immunes, and there were only five deaths. During the last six months of that year over 12,000 immigrants came, and 98 deaths from yellow fever occurred. The winter epidemic for 1899 was unusually severe. The next year, 1900, there were 310 deaths from yellow fever. This demonstrates that the general sanitary measures had had a marked effect upon the general death rate, but very little upon the death rate for yellow fever. Neither labor nor expense was spared. The floors and walls of the room occupied by the patient were washed down with a solution of bichloride, applied with a force pump, then the room was carefully sealed and filled with formaline gas. All the fabrics were taken to the disinfecting plant and passed through a steam sterilizer. Every case was carefully isolated, and the quarantine enforced by an employee of the sanitary department, who was on guard at the room quarantined. Three men in eight-hour shifts were assigned as guards in each case.

By the end of 1900 the authorities were convinced that general sanitary methods could not in a short time eradicate yellow fever from Havana. In the smaller cities and military camps entire success had resulted from the deportation of the non-immune population, together with general sanitary methods; but in a city the size of Havana, with a non-immune population of between 30,000 and 40,000, such a measure was entirely impracticable.

At the beginning of 1901 the prospects, as far as yellow fever in Havana was concerned, were particularly unfavorable. There was a large non-immune population—probably larger than it has ever been before. The city was thoroughly infected, cases having occurred in all parts. During the preceeding year there had been 1,244 cases, and 210 deaths, and all classes of non-immunes had suffered severely. On the staff of the military governor, the chief commissary, the chief quartermaster and one of the aides had died. January commenced with an unusually large number of deaths from this disease, the records showing 24 cases and 7 deaths. February was equally severe, 8 cases and 5 deaths occurring during that month.

The military governor, being determined that no precautions should be omitted directed that in addition to former measures, work be started on the suppression of transmission by the mosquito. This work went into effect about the first of March, with the result that during the whole year there occurred only 18 deaths from yellow fever.

Estimating the yellow fever year as commencing April 1, it is shown that for the past 11 years the maximum, 1,385 deaths, occurred in 1896–97; the minimum, 122 deaths, in 1899–1900; average, 467. For the year 1901–2, up to February 15, there were five deaths. This difference is too marked to be any matter of chance. That the yellow fever year of 1901–2 had only one twenty-fifth the number of deaths that had occurred in the minimum year of the preceding 11 years, must be due to some cause that did not act during those years. Still more marked is the fact that since September 28, 1901, no cases at all have occurred, particularly when it is considered that October and November rank among the worst months for yellow fever.

Not only was this result obtained with the city full of non-immunes, but there were half a dozen infected towns in railroad communication with Havana. Constant intercourse was kept up and no interference with commerce occurred. Goods of all kinds were allowed to come into the city freely. No restriction was put upon bringing in clothing, bedding, and so on, from those infected points. The only infected material from the towns looked after was the sick man, who was carefully sought out and screened from mosquitoes.

The number of other infectious and contagious diseases has been small during the year. There has been very little diphtheria and typhoid fever, and the tuberculosis rate is about that of most cities of civilized countries. A rapid decrease has taken place since American occupation. A marked decrease in malaria has also occurred since the mosquito work began. It is also interesting to note the small birth

rate and the large death rate of the negro population as compared with the white. In Havana the negro is not only not so well suited to his environment as the white man, but would disappear in a few years unless recruited from without.

The army took charge of the Health Department of Havana when deaths were occurring at the rate of 21,252 per year. It relinquishes authority with deaths occurring at the rate of 5,720 per year. It took charge with an annual small-pox epidemic occurring regularly, whereas at the present time not a single case has occurred in the city for over 18 months. It took charge with yellow fever epidemic for two centuries, the relentless foe of every foreigner who came within Havana's borders, a foe from which there was no escape, and from whose attack it was well known that every fourth man must die. It found Havana feared as a thing unclean by all her neighbors of the United States, and quarantined to the untold financial loss of both Havana and the United States. The army has stamped out this disease in its greatest stronghold, and has demonstrated a system by which yellow fever can certainly be controlled without interference to commerce.

INDEX OF NAMES.

ABBREVIATIONS.—In the Index the following abbreviations have been used: *pap.*, principal paper by the person named; *com.*, communication by the person named; *p. n.*, personal note on the person named; *b.*, review of book of which the person named is the author; *r.*, review by the person named.

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